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[For historical data during the years 1918 to 1947, see category 116, entire article (pp. 604-621)].

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
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CHAPTER IV

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

168 888 537 THE DRAGALEVTSY of 1937 had much in common with the Dragalevtsy of the past centuries. The dances, the homes, and the farm practices proved that. The differences were also marked. For instance, a crude but efficient means of population control in the good old days was the killing off of the old people when they had passed the period of active usefulness. That at least was the theme of an old folk tale still current in the village. "It so happened that one spring the people discovered that they had saved no grain for sowing. The king sent men everywhere in search of grain, only to see them return empty-handed. One son, who at considerable risk to himself had kept his aged father alive, secretly hidden in his home, told him of the people's distress. The old man said: 'Tell the people to go to the ant hills for grain.' Some of the men followed this suggestion and found the grain they were hunting. When the king learned that an old man had told them where to look he ordered that the aged should not be killed for their disability but should be kept alive and respected for their wisdom."

● 175 Just at what time this story became a part of the folklore was difficult to determine, because of the numerous racial mixtures which the people represent. The Pechenegi, according to all accounts, might have been the ones who practiced this parricide. They got themselves into the history books by driving the Magyars (the modern Hungarians) westward from what is now Russia in the latter part of the ninth century. For about two hundred years more they, allied first with one prince and then with another, raided tribe after tribe and lurked near important trade routes. In 1091 the Pechenegi who had survived previous setbacks were finally destroyed by the Crusaders under Peter the Hermit, and little was heard of them after that.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

One account in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* describes their[1] nomadic existence and the camps they formed out of rings of wagons. "They wore long beards and mustachios, and were dressed in long kaftans. The food of the wealthy was blood and mares' milk; of the poor, millet and mead. They were originally 'magicians', i.e., fire-worshippers; but a form of Islam early became current among them, and the nation was temporarily converted to Christianity in 1007-1008. They were the most dreaded and detested of all the nomads." They were disagreeable in other ways too. But when the writer goes on to describe the *Shopi* of today, the descendants of these Pechenegi, as "despised by the other inhabitants of Bulgaria for their bestiality and stupidity but dreaded for their savagery," I wondered how much he was letting historical antecedents influence his description of the present. He goes on to say: "They are a singularly repellent race, short-legged, yellow-skinned, with slanting eyes and projecting cheekbones. Their villages are generally filthy, but the women's costumes show a barbaric profusion of gold lace." The *Shopi* then have quite a reputation to live up to—bestial, stupid, savage, ugly, filthy, and barbaric in their tastes. Some of these definitely do apply. My version of the *Shopi* necessarily includes some positive as well as negative traits, for I have lived among them and have learned to see their good as well as their bad points.

But I must admit that if one looks to the Bulgarian ancestors of the *Shopi* for the origin of the parricide story, he will also find forebears capable of such a deed. According to Henry N. Brailsford's *Macedonia* the Volga-men, or Bulgarians, "were polygamists, owned slaves, and were accustomed to military discipline. Like the Turks they shaved their heads and wore pigtails. They burned their widows and indulged in human sacrifices." This is not a pretty picture, but one which bears marked resemblances to the accounts of the tribes in western Europe before the spread of civilization to that area.

The killing of feeble parents has been a common practice among nomadic peoples because of the difficulty of caring for the aged and infirm when on the move. The mention of grain in the story quoted above would indicate that the tribe had settled down, and that parri-

[1] i.e. the Pechenegi, Bulgarian ancestors--ANALYST

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

cide was by that time an out-of-date practice no longer linked with the precarious economic existence of a wandering people.

But it was a far cry from the cessation of the killing of aged parents to the "Honor thy father and mother" of the Decalogue, which later became a part of the Bulgarian family system. The peasants had another story to explain this dramatic change:

"In the olden days, when fathers died the sons would drag the bodies with a hook to a stream or gully and push the bodies in. One day a middle-aged man returned home from disposing of his father's body in this way, but failed to bring back the hook. Whereupon his own son in greeting him said:

" 'But, father, where is the hook? What will I use when I drag you away?'

"This made the father thoughtful, then remorseful. It was then that he retrieved his father's body and gave it a proper burial. Since then sons have been more respectful."

At any rate, whatever may be the explanation, the patriarchal system with its respect for and obedience to the father won out. Contact with Byzantine culture until the coming of the Turks must have reinforced the Bulgarian father's right to dominate his family. He became more fully acquainted with the *patria potestas* which had been too strongly entrenched in the Roman family system to be forgotten by the Byzantines. Likewise, the patriarchal emphasis of the Old Testament and the Pauline epistles of the New aided in the continuance of male supremacy. It is fascinating indeed to observe the response that the Slavicized Bulgarians made to the Byzantine culture in general. First they opposed cultural assimilation by force of arms; more than once the armies of the Bulgarian kings thundered at the gates of Constantinople in Bulgaria's proud golden age (about 900). Military expeditions, however, proved inadequate, with the result that the Bulgarian leaders sought to build a Slavic culture to rival that of the Greeks. It was this new culture which kept the feeling of national uniqueness alive among the Bulgarians, while other tribes upon entering that region became so thoroughly absorbed into the Byzantine Empire that they ended as curious names of the past with no modern representatives.

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Then came the Turks in the fourteenth century to begin a reign which lasted five hundred years. It was in this period, termed by Bulgarians *Igoto* or The Yoke, that Dragalevtsy was supposedly founded.

A pregnant sow was the beginning of it all. At least, so the villagers said. Two or three hundred years ago this particular sow ran away from home and grunted up the mountainside to bear her litter in the brush. Baba Dragana, a widow who owned the animal, after a long search found her on the spot where the village church now stands. Since the old woman could not carry the animals back to her village, just south of Sofia, she built a small hut where she was. She liked the place so much that she decided to stay; finally she persuaded her former neighbors to join her. The Turks who robbed them in the village on the highway, she argued, would not harm them on the mountainside. Besides, there was an ample supply of delicious water near her new shelter. The ten families who joined her began to call the settlement Dragalevtsy in honor of Baba Dragana, and the name has remained to this day.

Baba Dragana was also known for her fiery patriotism, as well as for "eternal beauty, strength, and power," if we are to believe an old folk song. This beauty was noticed by the Turkish Pasha in Sofia, and led to frequent meetings between Dragana and him. Years passed. Dragana lost her beauty but retained her strength and power. One day a Bulgarian shepherd, wounded and beaten, stumbled into her yard. Before he died three days later Dragana learned that Turkish shepherds, enraged because his animals had entered their pastures, had fallen upon him. This was too much for Dragana. She called her sons about her, armed them with pitchforks, and sent them out to avenge the death of a fellow countryman. Blood for blood. A few days later their yard was surrounded by Turkish soldiers who promptly bound the sons and carted them off to Sofia for a summary trial before the Pasha. Death was their sentence. But just before the execution the bold Dragana appeared to ask indignantly if the Pasha knew what he was doing. "These are your sons that you are about to put to death," she said. "If you do not believe me, see how much they resemble you." Confused, the Pasha looked at Dragana's sons, saw the resemblance, and called off the death sentence.

2:Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

resemble you." Confused, the Pasha looked at Dragana's sons, saw the resemblance, and called off the death sentence.

This story,[1] in addition to its glorification of Baba Dragana's love of country at the expense of her morals, gives us a picture of government under the Turks. Despite the claims of some Bulgarian historians, Bulgaria was not badly off before the end of the seventeenth century. It was during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that Turkish rule became oppressive in its efforts to stamp out the spread of revolts owing, in no small measure, to the spread of national consciousness among the subject peoples. As a matter of fact, Bulgarian historians deplore more vigorously the actions of the Greek clergy who arranged with the Sultan to collect all religious fees from the people. Whereas the Turks were little interested in mass conversions to Mohammedanism, the Greeks were said to be desirous of so Hellenizing the Bulgarians that they would lose their sense of nationality. These Greek priests, however, had so much contempt for the villagers that they made little effort to influence the peasant population.

This period of bondage to the Turks and the Greek priests must have made the family and the village community much better integrated social units. Struggle with an outsider tends to do that. The peasants put higher walls around their yards so Turkish soldiers would not be attracted by something seen while passing. Girls who went to a friend's home for an evening spinning bee spent the night there rather than risk the possibility of capture by the Turks on the dark way home. Even today this custom persists, perhaps because Dragalevtsy youths occasionally steal their brides. Certainly Turkish influence did nothing to weaken the man's authority; at the same time it probably strengthened monogamy because of the unpleasant association of polygamy with things Turkish.

Many of the older Dragalevtsy residents with whom I talked looked back upon the Turkish rule as preferable to their present lot. They said that they were seldom disturbed by the Turkish officials unless they molested the Turks or were forced to contribute men and materials to the Sultan's army. Of course, the Turkish tax collectors also made their regular visits, at which times many peasants con-

[1] [See p. 63, category 116--Analyst]

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

veniently arranged to be away from home. The villagers occasionally joked about the peasant who climbed a tree to escape the tax collector and had to remain in that uncomfortable predicament for many hours before the visitor left. But the Turks did recognize the traditional form of village government, or government by elders, and let the heads of the zadrugas, or large joint families, run village affairs to their liking. Most of the time, the head of the zadruga had to accept the responsibility for the deeds of all members of his family group.

These zadrugas were little principalities guided by a *stopanin,* usually the oldest male. His word was law; he distributed the work among the men, bought the necessities, sold the produce, and represented the zadruga before the outside world; therefore, the zadruga usually bore his name. Whenever a son, brother, or nephew of the *stopanin* married, he brought his wife back home to become a member of his zadruga. The wife of the *stopanin,* known as the *domakinya,* managed the housework. She kept the women busy making bread, cooking, washing, spinning, and weaving. Everything was owned in common. Work too was done in common, and whatever one earned outside was turned over to the *stopanin* for the common treasury. In return, all the members got clothes and food, which in those days were about all they expected to have.

After the death of the *stopanin,* the members met to select the next most capable male as their leader. At times, the *domakinya* took over the position of responsibility. Such was doubtless what happened in the case of Baba Dragana, or her prototype, since the ending of the word Dragalevtsy would indicate that it had been settled by a zadruga. The old joint family comprised married cousins descended from the same ancestor, with the result that it sometimes numbered as many as one hundred people.

When the older Dragalevtsy peasants talked to me of the zadruga, which persisted as late as 1880 in their village, they showed that wistfulness for the past which runs through the works of many Bulgarian writers. The zadruga was supposed to be a source of plenty and happiness to its members. One aged peasant listed for me the advantages of this joint family over the modern family. First of all, he said, it had great economy. The members had only one lamp,

2: Sanders E-5 (no date) 1949 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

a *paterfamilias*, with a unique concentration of power in his hands. If his grown children did not submit to his control, then they could leave his house but had no means of removing him against his will. Death alone could do that.

Such was the family situation in Dragalevtsy with the coming of liberation after the Russo-Turkish War in 1878. The changes which have occurred in the family since then have been related in no small degree to the political fortunes of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian constitution was drawn up in Tirnovo in imitation of the constitutions of the West, and made Bulgaria a constitutional monarchy with a national parliament. Unfortunately, the new frame of government disregarded many traditional practices of the peasants and sought to impose upon them foreign ideas and strange governmental processes.

In April, 1879, Alexander of Battenberg, who was an officer in the Prussian army and the favorite nephew of Tsar Alexander II of Russia, was elected Prince over the country. In September, 1885, Bulgaria united with Eastern Rumelia, an area which had been placed back under nominal Turkish control by the Treaty of Berlin. Prince Alexander, because he did not collaborate sufficiently with the Russians in their desire to make Bulgaria completely subservient to Russia, was abducted from Sofia and forced to abdicate in 1886. Then the Bulgarian leaders shopped around Europe for another Prince, and finally in 1887 chose Prince Ferdinand of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha line. He did much to make Bulgaria a stronger state, but he showed poor judgment in ordering Bulgarian troops to attack Serbia, thereby starting the Second Balkan War in which Bulgaria suffered catastrophic defeat at the hands of her former allies in the First Balkan War. In 1918, because he had been a party to the alliance of Bulgaria with the Central Powers in the First World War, he was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Boris.

From her inception as a state Bulgaria tried to make a success of representative government. Men were urged to vote; in fact, they were fined the equivalent of five dollars if they failed to vote. But in spite of the dream of Young Bulgaria at Tirnovo, in spite of her

659 the Communist Government in 1949, sought to establish a uniform regime for all religious denominations in the country. Nevertheless, some of its provisions, especially Section 3, recognize the historic role of the Bulgarian Church and attempt to use the established tradition for the purposes of the communist policy.

Thus, the present status of the Church in Bulgaria cannot be properly evaluated without a survey of its past.

●175 797 648 I. Christianity in Bulgaria, 865 -1870

A sizable Bulgarian Kingdom came into being in 680 A.D. in the area between the Danube and the Black Sea bordering on the Balkan territories of Byzantium.

Seeking international recognition, one of its kings, Boris I, agreed in 865 A.D. to the conversion of his people to Christianity under the auspices of the Byzantine emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Byzantine missionaries and priests were swiftly dispatched to Bulgaria to evangelize the country. Five years later, the Patriarch conceded, on insistent Bulgarian demands, the right of the Bulgarian King to have a Bulgarian archbishop with authority to crown kings and ordain bishops, retaining, nevertheless, supremacy over the new ecclesiastic hierarchy.

The extension of the Patriarch's authority to Bulgaria was disliked in Rome, and contacts were soon established between Boris and Pope Nicolaus I. However, the territorial proximity of Byzantium prevailed as a factor and Boris' original orientation

toward the East stayed. It became solidly rooted when in the ensuing years he patterned the organization of his State after Byzantium and introduced to Bulgaria adaptations of Byzantine law, such as the "Statute of Trial of Men", the "Nomocanon", etc.

The new church strongly tended to emancipate itself from the primacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople and rid itself of Byzantine clergy. A fortunate chance presented itself when an alphabet was devised to suit the peculiarities of the Slavic tongues. A wave of Slav awakening hit Bulgaria during the reign of Boris' son, Simeon I, and soon scriptures and prayer books, in Bulgarian, displaced the media of Byzantine influence. The process was so rapid and his military victories so promising that Simeon proclaimed the archbishop of Preslav a patriarch independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople and himself Czar of the Bulgarians and the Greeks. Seven bishoprics were established, of which those of Preslav and Ochrida (Macedonia) became important centers of enlightenment.

Bulgaria turned again toward Rome in the 13th century. Desirous of international recognition which had been lost during the Byzantine domination of Bulgaria (1018 - 1186), the Bulgarian King Kaloyan contacted the Pope with an offer to accept the Pope's primacy over the Bulgarian church in exchange for an imperial crown. In 1204, a Catholic cardinal arrived at the Bulgarian capital Tirnovo to hand a crown to Kaloyan on behalf of the Pope and ordain a Bulgarian prelate. This Western orientation caused by the Crusades and dictated by political expediency was rather short-lived. In 1232, Kaloyan's successor, Ivan Asen, denounced

• 175 In 1232 Kaloyan's successor, Ivan Asen, denounced
195 the union and severed all ties with the Roman Catholic Church.

During the nearly five centuries of Turkish rule (1393-1878) supreme authority over religious matters in the Bulgarian lands was vested in the Patriarch of Constantinople who was recognized very early (15th century) by the Turks as the religious head of all Christians in their empire. A Bulgarian Archbishopric at Ochrida was nevertheless allowed to function untill 1766 when the Greek Patriarch finally prevailed over the Turks to have this last vestige of Bulgarian past abolished.

[656] According to the general principle of the Ottoman law the non-Mohammedan communities enjoyed the jurisdiction not only in the religious matters but also in domestic relations and inheritance. Thus, all the disputes arising in this field among the Bulgarians were in fact judged in the last analysis by the dignitaries of the Patriarch of Constantinople who were predominantly Greek.

After the collapse of the State, the Bulgarian clergy was either banished or eliminated, thus opening a spiritual vacuum which was swiftly filled by the Patriarch's hierarchy, leaving only remote monasteries intact. From these very monasteries were to spring three centuries later (1762) the strong currents of a national Renaissance which finally culminated in religious and cultural emancipation of the Bulgarian nation from the Greek Patriarchate and Political liberation from the Ottoman Empire.

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II. Establishment of a Bulgarian Exarchate and Relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople

A. Under the Turkish Rule, 1870-1878

With the approval of the Moslem Sultans, the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople maintained a complete religious, and in many instances, cultural control over the areas inhabited by the Bulgarian people. A detailed apparatus was set up manned by appointees of the Patriarch exclusively. Treated as being the spoils of the office, the population was exposed to corruption and threat of Hellenization. Reaction was sporadic until 1762 when an obscure Bulgarian monk, Father Paisiy, published his History of the Bulgarian People and roving the country to let the people copy his book, aroused national pride and consciousness. From then on, the ideas of a separate Bulgarian political and cultural entity gave birth to a movement for national awakening and emancipation. Wisely, it first concentrated on the issue of Greek religious authority over Bulgarian lands versus a national Bulgarian church within the Turkish Empire. The issue came to a climax in the events of 1870-1872.

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In 1870, the Turkish Government finally intervened in the religious dispute between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Bulgarian population under its jurisdiction and issued an Imperial Decree (Firman) which recognized the validity of the Bulgarians' claim to an independent ecclesiastical authority and provided for the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian Exarchate. In designating the area of jurisdiction of the new

656 Church, the Firman enumerated some of the Bulgarian-populated
795 regions and provided for the holding of a plebiscite to determine
●175 the preference of the rest of the Bulgarian lands:

> If the population of any other places besides those enumerated above, and professing the Orthodox faith, should wish unanimously or at least by a two-thirds majority to be subject to the Bulgarian Exarchate, and if subsequent investigation should prove this to be so, their desire should be gratified (Article 10).*

795 In the following year, an all-Bulgarian church council convened at Constantinople to lay the foundations of a national Bulgarian church. The council met with stubborn opposition on the part of the Patriarchate which, claiming the status of an ecumenical church, refused to consent to the proposed creation of a church on the principle of nationality. The formula of the Ottoman Government in the Firman of 1870 whereby the Exarchate, though autonomous, was to recognize the primacy of the Patriarchate, would have avoided all the conflict if it had not been for the issue of the Exarch's residence. Supported by the Ottoman government, the Bulgarian council took the stand that the residence of the Exarch must be in Constantinople, capital of the Ottoman Empire and seat of the Patriarchate. The Patriarchate opposed the Exarch's having a seat in the same locality as the Patriarch himself.

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* The full text of this important document is in Stoyan Protic, The Aspirations of Bulgaria (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton and Co., 1915), appendix.

795 the symbol of the religious and cultural unity of the Bulgarian nation and constituted the prelude to its political liberation in 1878.

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B. From the Creation of Princedom to the Balkan Wars, 1878-1913

Under the treaty of Berlin which settled the issues raised by the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-1878, the provinces of the Turkish Empire with predominant Bulgarian population were not included in one body politic. Two regions were incorporated into Romania (Dobrudja) and Serbia (Morava region).*

Moreover, two large Bulgarian provinces, Thrace and Macedonia, remained within the Ottoman Empire. The rest assigned to the Bulgarians and at first formed two political entities: Princedom of Bulgaria, including the regions between the Danube River and the Balkan range (present Northern Bulgaria) and was placed under the nominal sovereignty of the Turkish Sultan. In the region south of the Balkans (present Southern Bulgaria) an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire - Eastern

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* Dobrudja was given to Romania in compensation for the loss of Bessarabia annexed by Russia. The regions east of Morava River with the city of Nish were given to Serbia. This met the aspiration of Austria-Hungary to divert Serbian attention from the Slavs in Bosnia and Herzegovina occupied by Austro-Hungarian Empire and annexed in 1908.

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131 Rumelia - was formed but it joined, in 1885, the Princedom of Bulgaria and severed all ties with Turkey.

795 Thus, in fact, there were two Bulgarian churches: that of the Princedom of Bulgaria, no longer under the authority of the Ottoman Empire, and that of Turkey, which lay outside the jurisdiction of the new Pricedom. A reorganization of the Exarchate was imperative but not easy to achieve. There was at first a provisional, more or less arbitrary, ecclesiastical organization. This situation lasted until 1882; a compromise was then reached and in 1883, the Sobranie (National Assembly or legislature) of the Princedom prepared a draft of a statute for the Exarchate for the territory of the Princedom. The final wording of the Statute was not completed until 1895.

Under this statute the Church was administered by both the Exarch in Constantinople and the Holy Synod, or Council, established in Sofia. All matters involving the Bulgarian Church in the Princedom were submitted to the Exarch through the Holy Synod or decided by the Synod itself. The Exarch administered directly the affairs of the Bulgarian churches in the provinces remaining in the Ottoman Empire, including Macedonia and Thrace. However, the hope was never given up by the Bulgarian churchmen and people that one day Macedonia and Thrace would join Bulgaria and thus the reunion of the Exarch with the Synod would be made possible.

Those hopes were not fulfilled as is explained infra. The statute was amended several times but the amendments were of minor importance and dealt only with current, purely administrative problems.

000 administrative, problems.

C. From the Balkan Wars to the Communist Seizure of Power, 1913-1944

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As a result of the Balkan War in 1913, Macedonia and Thrace were detached from the Ottoman Empire but only a small area was included into Bulgaria. The greatest part of the two regions was incorporated into Serbia and Greece. Both Serbia and Greece had their national Eastern Orthodox Churches and refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarch over the Bulgarian parishes and dioceses within these countries. The Bulgarian bishops loyal to the Exarch were expelled and the Bulgarian parishes added to the dioceses of the Serbian or the Greek national churches. The Bulgarian Exarch in Constantinople, deprived of his jurisdiction over these regions, went to Sofia and died there in 1913. The Bulgarian Exarchate, however, continued to be conceived by the Bulgarian churchmen and people as an ecclesiastic organization designed to embrace all Bulgarian dioceses and parishes both in Bulgaria proper and in Macedonia and Thrace. There no longer existed any hope either for the incorporation of these provinces into Bulgaria or for the extension of the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarchate over them. The election of an Exarch was continuously postponed because it was felt that any election of a new Exarch without the participation of the representatives of the Bulgarian parishes under foreign rule would run against the idea of the unity of the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian Church.

• 175 The Exarch's office continued to be maintained in Constqntinople while the churches in Bulgaria were administered by the Holy Synod in Sofia.

World War I failed to yield the above-mentioned Macedonia and Thracian territories to Bulgaria; what is more, it sanctioned the loss to Romania of Southern Dodrudja (retroceded to Bulgaria in 1940).

In 1921, a Bulgarian National Church Council convened in Sofia in order to revise the Statute of the Exarchate. The Council established the procedure for the election of the new Exarch by the Bulgarians in Bulgaria alone without the participation of the Bulgarians in Thrace and Macedonia that the elections were continuously postponed. They were held at last in 1945 under the Fatherland Front government (infra).

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III. Status of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church within Bulgaria until 1944

A. Relationship between State and Church

The basic principles regulating the status of the Bulgarian Church are stated in Article 39 of the Constitution of 1879;

Article 39

The princedom of Bulgaria, which constitutes an integral part of the Bulgarian ecclesiastical area, shall be under the religious administration of the Holy Synod, the supreme spiritual authority of the Bulgarian Church, wherever that authority may be located. Through the latter, the

795 faithful and is politically important because of its ties with Turkey. It must be noted, however, that since the Balkan War the Turkish population in Bulgaria has continously been emigrating to Turkey.

167 175 The emigration of the Moslem population from Bulgaria to Turkey began with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. Most of the Turks living in the cities left Bulgaria immediately. They were slowly followed by the peasant element. The Turkish Government did not encourage this emigration. Under Sultan Abdul Hamid's rule the Turkish authorities were always suspicious of Moslem immigrants from the newly-liberated countries where they had lived under much more liberal conditions and had learned to value freedom and rights - two things which were not allowed in the Turkish Empire. There was another for this attitude. Turkey was greatly interest in keeping abroad a large and compact Moslem minority. They remained under the religious rule of the Cheikh-ul-Islam of Constantinople and could be of invaluable assistance in a Bulgarian-Turkish conflict, as they could not fail to respond to the appeal of their religious leader. But with the gradual stabilization of the situation the religious fanaticism of these Moslems weakened, and the passive character of the Turkish race led them to become loyal subjects of the Bulgarian State.

The Balkan Wars of 1912-13 caused the disappearance of Turkey from Europe. World War I, following a year later, brought about the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire whose

ruins the Kemalist Republic was established in the Anatolian Highland which is the only truly Turkish region and cradle of the power of the Osmanli Turks. The wars produced a new trend of emigration among the Moslems in all Balkan States. This trend was particularly strong among the Turks in Macedonia and especially those civilians or military who had led the fight against the powerful Macedonian Revolutionary organization. As Mustafa Kemal's companions in arms, they were given prominent positions in the People's Republican Party founded by him. Mustafa Kemal, having been the Turkish military attache to Sofia before becoming Turkey's liberator, enjoyed great prestige among the Moslem population in Bulgaria. His influence caused a flood of Turkish immigrants to turn to the newly-established Republic. As those immigrants were more civilized and educated than the backward Anatolian peasants, they rapidly took into their hands the rein of business, playing an increasingly important part in the economic and political life of Turkey. Even today, the market of Ankara is dominated by the immigrants from Bulgaria, and one can often hear the Bulgarian language spoken in the shops and stores of the capital.

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The immigration would have been much greater if Ataturk had not enforced his great social, political and cultural reforms which shocked the Moslem world at first and which the Moslems of the Balkan States refused to follow. These reforms had to do with the liquidation of the Caliphate, and consequently of the religious law (Sheriat), in civic matters, the abandonment of the fez (cap) for men and feredje

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(viel) for women, and the change from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet.

These fundamental reforms provoked a schism at first, and for a long time Mustafa Kemal and his followers were considered infidels by other Moslems. The Bulgarian Government, keenly aware of the potential menace presented by the compact and numerous Turkish minority, was only too happy to exploit this schism, which caused the Turks in Bulgaria to turn away from Ankara and Constantinople.

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Bulgaria refused to exert any pressure on the Moslem minority to force it to organize its social and religious life along the lines advocated by the Kemalists. The Moslems were left entirely free to keep the Sheriat and the Arabic alphabet. Nothing was changed in the Turkish clergy and schools in Bulgaria. This was all the easier to effect because the separation of the Church and State, which is the core of the Kemalist reforms, had long been realized in Bulgaria by the very fact of the establishment of the Christian Bulgarian State side by side with an ethnically foreign Moslem minority.

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Left entirely to itself, this minority, whose nationality and religion have always been scrupulously respected, organized itself on the basis of the Sheriat, which governed every phase of its civic and religious life, particularly in matrimonial matters - marriage and divorce (i. e., repudiation of the wife by the husband), as well as in the matters of inheritance.

This organization, which developed side by side with

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the Bulgarian State, was maintained by the Bulgarian authorities by means of the institution of the muftis, whose network covered all the Turkish-inhabited regions and which was centered at Sofia in the person of a Great Mufti, elected by the regional muftis. The Great Mufti was assisted by a Council elected by all the Moslems in the country. Thus, the Turkish minority not only enjoyed equal political rights with other citizens, but also was provided with a system of self-government concerning all matters regulated by the Sheriat. Such was the privileged position of the great Moslem community, which was able to support a considerable number of mosques (no less than two thousand) and schools (more than one thousand) and to publish several newspapers in its own language.

The Kemalists were extremely dissatisfied with this state of affairs. It frustrated the expansion of their reforms beyond the frontiers of Turkey. The Government in Sofia, however, took a firm stand and refused to change anything in the direction desired by Ankara. What was more, the Turks in Bulgaria, being a compact and a large group, were a source of votes for the politicians, who did much to raise their primitive standard of living. Great projects were carried out [312] by the Bulgarian State over several years whose purpose it was to provide drinking water and irrigation for the arid region of Dobrudja (Northeastern Bulgaria) predominantly populated by Turks.

tied to the Communist Party and the present government. It is, 563 167
therefore, not to be expected that they will leave Bulgaria. It must be noted, however, that by means of this organized emigration to the State of Israel, the Russians, who are the masters in Bulgaria, have succeeded in sending there a rather large number of communists and they played an important part in that country in favor of a pro-soviet orientation.

C. Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church was one of the most influential 795
although Roman Catholics were not numerous in Bulgaria. Indeed, 175
Catholicism penetrated Bulgaria as early as the XVII century. It did not come directly from Rome, but through the intermediary of the then powerful Austrian monarchy, which sought to expand into Southeastern Europe and which, in order to realize the goals of that policy, was promising the Bulgarian people to liberate them from the Turkish rule at a time when Russia had not yet entered the International arena.

The pioneers of that denomination were then Bulgarian merchants with connections abroad who often visited the Dalmatian port Dubrovnik (Raguza), an important cultural center at the time. There they were won to the idea of the liberation of Bulgaria with the help of Catholic Austria, an idea encouraged by the Vatican authorities, and they frequented Vienna and Rome for political conferences. Such merchants came mostly from the small but rich town Tchiprovtsi, in the present region of Vratsa,

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in northwestern Bulgaria. Consequently, Catholicism spread in the region and town of Plovdiv, in southern Bulgaria. These are the two main Catholic centers in Bulgaria to which Sofia must be added not because it has a large Catholic population, but because the old King Ferdinand was Catholic and favored Catholicism. There were, therefore, two Catholic Churches in Sofia. Also, the Catholic Bishop, religious head of all, though no numerous, Bulgarian Catholics, had his seat there where the Pope likewise maintained an Apostolic Nuncio as his representative to the Bulgarian Government and the Bulgarian court.

Another Catholic current penetrated the Bulgarian provinces during the second half of the XI^ century, this time via Constantinople. This was at the time when the Bulgarian nation was engaged in the fight for its religious emancipation. The country had already been convinced that liberation was going to come only from Russia, but Russian diplomacy at first refused to support the demand for the creation of an autonomous Bulgarian Church. It threatened to cause a schism in the Orthodox world because of the uncompromising atitude of the Constantinople Patriarchate, which insisted on its ecumenical. Jurisdiction as opposed to the national principle in religious affairs. In view of this situation a certain number of Bulgarians reacted to that opposition by soliciting the protection of the Vatican in the hope that this protection would help to draw the attention of Europe and induce it to take an interest in the fate of the Bulgarian people and also expedite their religious and political liberation.

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Thus, in 1859, the inhabitants of the Macedonian towns of Doiran and of Kukush (Kilkish), north of Saloniki, now in Yugoslav and Greek lands, respectively, left the Patriarchate to form a Bulgarian Uniate Church which registered some gains in Macedonia and Thrace, particularly in Adrianople, between 1860 - 1870, before the Bulgarian Exarchate was established. In these two regions the Vatican appointed bishops for the dioceses which were established there, and toward the end of that decade, a young Bulgarian patriot, Dragan Tzankoff, who later was to play a considerable part in the political life of the Principedom of Bulgaria at the head of the liberal party, began serious negotiations with the Vatican for the incorporation of the entire Bulgarian nation into the Roman Church as a Uniate Church. A Uniate Archbishopric was established, but proved to be of short life. The Turkish government authorized rather the establishment of the Exarchate as the Bulgarian National Church.

The Bulgarian Uniates, like the Uniates in the Ukraine and in Byelorussia, constituted a special branch of Catholics. They preserved the dogmas and rituals and other religious rules of the Eastern Church, but accepted the supreme authority of the Pope, praying for him during the Mass and mentioning him as the supreme church authority instead of the Patriarch, and later, the Exarch.

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The Uniate movement was centered around Saloniki and directed from Constantinople. It rendered great services to the Bulgarian population in Macedonia and Thrace under the

exile to renunciation of the Bulgarian character of the school. With their few belongings that they managed to salvage, they sought refuge in Bulgaria.

The Uniate movement did not expand after the establishment of the Exarchate in 1871 and the creation of a Bulgarian State in 1879. The towns of Adrianople and Kukush were devastated and almost destroyed by the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913. Turkey and Greece soon thereafter expelled most of the Bulgarian population of these regions. The Uniates among them were dispersed throughout Bulgaria and disappeared as an organized religious community.

Between the two world wars a powerful Catholic action was begun by Italy in the Balkans and particularly in Bulgaria. This action was carried out by a special religious organization called "Pro Oriente". It did not, however, pursue religious aims but pure Italian propaganda and there is beyond the scope of this report.

The foreign denominations, however, have even enjoyed the greatest freedom in Bulgaria, this freedom being consecrated by the Constitution itself (see supra) and were under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which also took care of the ecclesiastic affairs of the Bulgarian Church. The Constitution of 1879 had created in this Ministry a bureau in charge of the denominations.

The need for a special law for the foreign denominations was not even felt under the pre-war regime. Such a law was not

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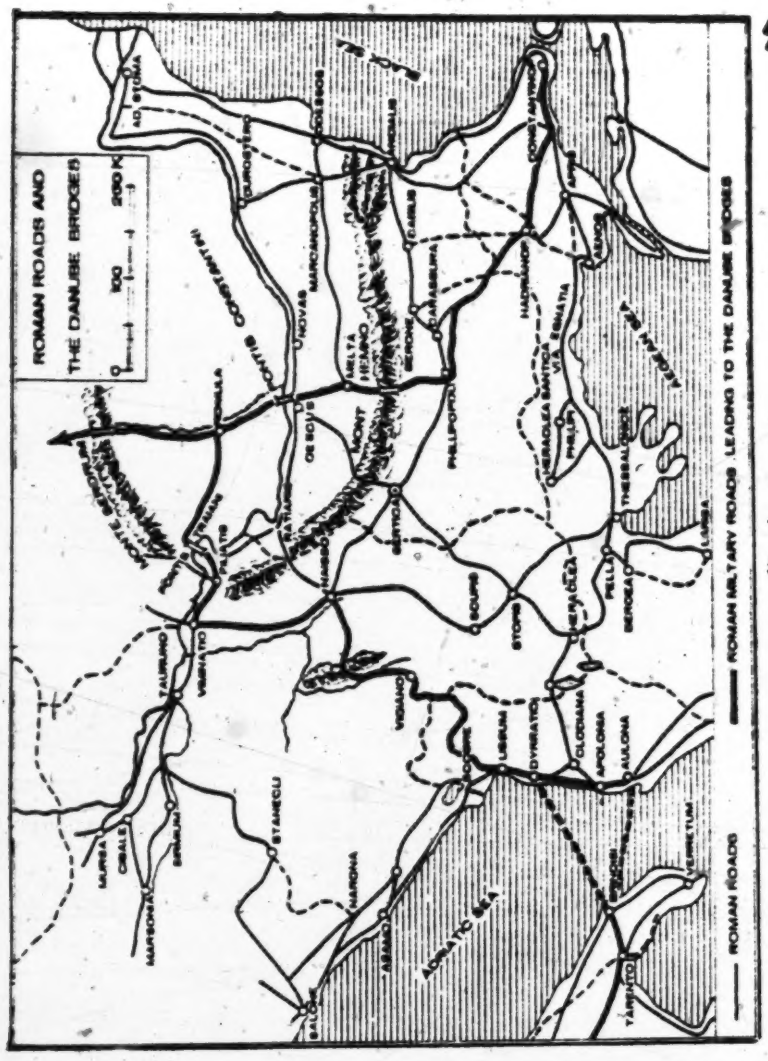

Fig. 4.

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7. Sketch of Bulgarian History. We present in appendixes I, A-E, a graphic synopsis of the history of Bulgaria. Although in a very concise form, this is a practical way of comparing the different historical epochs.

The Bulgarian State, established in the Balkan Peninsula in 679, precedes the formation of the United Kingdom of the

7 [See pp 105(A)-109(B)--Analyst]

S. Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

175 Franks (678) and the English Kingdom (Kingdom of Essex—802 United Kingdom of England with King Egbert—828), while Rurik organized the Moscow principality even later, in 862.

After the unification of the Slavs in the initial stage of Bulgarian statehood, followed the period of united legislation (802—814) which amalgamated the invaders with the conquered local inhabitants. Then came the period of spiritual enlightenment (852—889), during which Christianity was accepted (866) and, in this manner, the complete assimilation 795 of the mixed population was attained. The Bulgarian church 175 was entirely independent from the very outset, both of Rome, and of any of the Eastern churches. This important fact has run like a red streak through the entire history of Bulgaria for 1080 years, from 865 up to 1945, and has helped the formation of the Bulgarian State and its resistance against all encroachments. The church movement has always been one of the paramount problems in the history of the Bulgarians and, in this respect, they differ from other Slavic nations. The Bulgarian church is closely connected with the experience and the life of the nation. It is entirely independent and its actions are determined only by the will of the Bulgarian people. This fact should be appreciated by those who seek to understand the history of Bulgaria.

538 **8. Literature and Cultural Achievements.** The conversion of the Bulgarians to Christianity (866) and their need for church instruction and prayer books gave rise to literary production, which is the beginning of literature for the whole Slavic world. The entire Bulgarian nation celebrates the day of its enlightenment on May 24. This is the holiday commemorating the life of the saintly brothers of Cyril and Methodius of Salonica who made our alphabeth and prepared our eclesiastical books. This is what the noted Russian historian and academician, N. Derjavin, said in 1914, when he was a professor in the Leningrad (Petrograd) university:[1])

„In this way Bulgaria gave the Slavic people their language, upon which the present Slavic culture grew and developed. It was destined to be the first in giving life to the feeling of tribal self-consciousness among the Slavs and to serve,

[1]) N. Derjavin; The Bulgarian-Serb Relations and the Macedonian Question; Petrograd (i. e. Leningrad), 1914; (in Russian).

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Slav people introduced in the European civilization, before Huss, their manner of thinking which left lasting traces in all the literature of the Middle Ages".

Ernest Denis says[1]): „The dualist doctrine invaded from Bulgaria not only the Slav countries of the Balkan Peninsula, but also Italy and Southern France. The Cathares and Albigenses were n frequent relations with the Southern Slavs. For a long time the Bogomil doctrines were preached by some of the nobility, by kings and even by bishops in some provinces of the peninsula. They dominated Bosnia, in spite of all the efforts of the Popes and the Hungarian kings".

Ed. Gibbon says[2]) „The Bulgarians spread their branches over the face of Europe, united in common hatred of idolatry and of Rome, they were bound by a form of episcopal and presbyterian government; their various sects were distinguished by some fainter or darker shades of theology; but they generally agreed on two principles: the contempt for the old testament and the denial of the body of Christ, either on the cross or in the Eucharist. A confession of simple worship and blameless manners is extorted from their enemies; and so high was their standard of perfection, that the increasing congregations were divided into two classes of disciples, those who practised and those who aspired..."

Simonde de Sismondi[3]) makes the following statement: „Along with their goods, the Bulgarian merchants brought down the valley of the Danube the first seeds of the Reformation. Their doctrine, carried into Bohemia, cleared the road for John Huss and Jerome of Prague".

10. Military Power. We prefer to dwell on the cultural activity of the Bulgarians rather than on their military achievements, although that these achievements were quite significant because the Bulgarian armies reached the walls of Constantinople several times. Bulgarians exercised always great pressure on the Byzantine Empire. Bulgarian history is nothing less than a ceaseless struggle for Slavic supremacy against Byzantine authority.

[1]) Opus cit. vol. I. p. 733—734.

[2]) Ed. Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; vol. IV, p. 87; New York, American Publ. Corp.

[3]) Histoire des Republiques Italiennes, vol II, pp. 100—101.

S: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

175 „The Byzantine Empire and the Bulgarian Kingdom are fundamentally different in character. Byzantium was a typically theocratic state with a preponderant Greek element. It may in no way, therefore, be called a national state in the contemporaneous sense of the word. On the contrary, the old Bulgarian Kingdom was a typical national state. Its power and distinction consisted in this ethnic community of the Slav-Bulgarians, who appeared as a progressive factor in the South East."[1]).

Let us put on record here one fact of consequence for the history of Europe, as it is related to us by H. G. Wells[2]): „Then occured a very important scene. On Christmas Day in the year 800, as Charles was rising from prayer in the church of St. Peter, the Pope, who had everything in readiness, clapped a crown upon his head and hailed him Caesar and Augustus. There was a great popular applaus... At first Byzantium was unwilling to recognize the imperial title of Charlemagne. But in 811 a great disaster fell upon the Byzantine Empire. The pagan Bulgarians under their Prince Krum (802—815), defeated and destroyed the armies of the Emperor Nicephorus.... The great part of the Balkan Peninsula was conquered by these people. (The Bulgarian and the English nations thus became established as political unities almost simultaneously). After this misfortune Byzantium did not dispute this revival of the Empire in the West, and in 812 Charlemagne was formally recognized by Byzantine envoys as Emperor and Augustus...".

The military might of the Bulgarians was on the rise. Gibbon[3]) writes for the reign of Tzar Simeon the following: "The nobles of Bulgaria were educated in the schools and palace of Constantinople, and Simeon, a youth of the royal line, was instructed in the rhetoric of Demosthenes and the logic of Aristotle. He relinquished the profession of a monk for that of a king and warrior: and in his reign of more than forty years Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilized powers of the earth... He formed the siege of Constantinople (924); and, in a personal conference with the Emperor, Simeon imposed the condition of peace. They met with the most jealous precau

[1]. Prof. Vs. Nikolaev, Vatican University; The Origin of the Assenides etc. Sofia, 1944, p. 82. (in Bulgarian with an abriviation in French).
[2]) Outline of History, vol. II. p. 652, edition New York, 1940/41
[3]) Ed. Gibbon, op. cit. vol. IV. p. 93.

8: Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

tion; the royal galley was drawn close to an artificial and well fortified platform; and the majesty of the purple was emulated by the pomp of the Bulgarians... The reconciliation was sealed by a domestic alliance; the freedom of trade was granted or restored; the first honors of the court were secured to the friends of Bulgaria, above the ambassadors of enemies or strangers; and her princes were dignified with the high and invidious title Basileus, or Emperor..." 175

11. Tzar Samuel, 971--1014. The struggle which developed between Bulgaria and Byzantium in the last period was frightful and sanguinary. The Byzantines suffered several defeats under Emperor Basil II (980--1025). Samuel was crowned Tzar of the Bulgarians in 997.

„This man", says the French historian Shlumberger, „was the noblest incarnation of the struggle for independence in the 10th century. He was a gifted ruler who could measure up to Emperor Basil, the greatest Byzantine Military Commander of that century. But Samuel was not only a noted military leader, strategist and organizer, he was a wise, cautious and farsighted administrator also".

12. Characteristic cruelty, 1014. The fury of Emperor Basil II against anything Bulgarian was so great, that after a battle at the mountain of Belasitsa, according to the report of the Byzantine historians, he ordered that both eyes of about 15.000 captured Bulgarians should be cut out and, for each group of 100 of them, a one-eyed captive should be left as a guide. In this manner, he sent them back to Tzar Samuel who could not stand the sight of this calamity and died of sorrow the same year. At the termination of this war of 1014, Emperor Basil was given the title of „Slayer of Bulgarians" (Voulgaroctonos). This title did not contribute much to the prestige of the Empire in the Balkans, because it ruled over foreign peoples and bore the deadly wound inflicted by the struggles of the tough Slavic people, who were gradually driving it out of the central part of the peninsula.

S: 3586.5 K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

175 **13. Decline. The Turks conquer Bulgaria, 1241—1393.** The period 1241—1393 is marked by the Tartar intervention in the affairs of the Balkan Peninsula, and with the restoration of the Byzantine Empire in Constantinople (1261). The bickering among the Balkan states, their ambitions and misunderstandings helped the cause of the Turks who had already invaded the Peninsula. (Rodosto was captured in 1354). Tirnovo and the Kingdom of Tirnovo fell in 1393 and although Salonica was captured in 1430, the initial date of the Turkish subjection of Bulgaria is considered the year 1393. This subjection lasted until 1878 or 485 years! The Turkish yoke over Macedonia and Thrace lasted until 1912, or 519 years. The year 1453 marked the fall of Constantinople and this put an end to the Byzantine Empire for ever.

The disasters which fell upon the Christian states in the Balkans blocked the way of the western nations and their trade with the East. The Black Sea became a closed sea. The sources of Christian science, literature and art of the East were destroyed. Their transfer to Western Christian Europe took place and this heralded the coming of the Renaisance. The up to date sources of light and culture were covered with darkness which lasted for five centuries. The most numerous and compact Bulgarian population in the heart of the European Turkish dominions suffered the longest subjection allotted to the Balkan peoples.

14. Bulgaria under Turkish Yoke, 1393—1878. It is not possible to show the state of the Bulgarian lands during this period of 500 years in this brief presentation of Bulgarian history. The graphic synopsis in Appendixes I, A—E, gives us an approximate idea of it. This gruesome past did not crush the spirit of the Bulgarian nation, but it destroyed many monuments of its spiritual and material culture. It stopped the natural development of the keenest and most powerful nation in the Balkan Peninsula during the Middle Ages. If the Bulgarian nation was not obliterated from the pages of history during these 500 years, it was because of the fact that the conquered people had a much higher civilization than the conquerors.

The Turkish rule was unbearable for the Bulgarian people, but this political tyranny was not the only calamity that

7 [See pp 105(A)-109(B) -- Analyst]

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

befell them, There was another oppression, far more consequential in its scope, which tapped the resources of its spiritual culture amassed from the brilliant past. Such was the spiritual slavery imposed by tha Greek church. 175

15. Church and Spiritual Slavery. The struggle between the Bulgarian nation and the Greek church continued under the Turkish dominion. 798 175

These two contestants were caught in a deadly grapple. The Bulgarians claimed their proper rights but the Greeks opposed them on all points and saw to it that they were kept back on the land to till the soil for them behind the sea. The battle now was waged for churches, for bishops, for reading the gospels in Bulgarian and not in Greek, for schools, teachers, books and libraries! The Turks gave the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople complete freedom of action over the spiritual life of the subjected Christian „rayahs". The Greeks never dreamt of such unlimited ecclesiastical authority even in the brilliant periods of the Byzantine empire. Never was the principle „divide and rule" applied more effectively, than by the Turks during the time of their domination. Bulgarian libraries were burned. The Patriarchate library in Tirnovo, for instance, was burned in 1628 and this was an irreparable loss for the Bulgarian nation. Such was the fate of many monasterial and church libraries and their priceless manuscripts. In 1823 old manuscripts were destroyed by fire in Tserovina, near Sofia; the same thing happened at Titcha, county of Shumen, in 1840, in Stara-Zagora and in the St. Zograph Bulgarian monastery of Athos. What little was left, in form and essence of the Bulgarian Patriarchate at Ochrid, was lost and wasted with the closing of the Patriarchate in 1867. This church struggle lasted since the second half of the 16th century until to-day. For nearly 400 years the Bulgarian people fought for their rights to establish their national language in the church service and prayers, to have their own clergymen and their own national church was to depend exclusively on the will of the people. How many nations could boast of such history and what other church has played such significant part in the preservation of its people?

S. Borkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

175

16. Backwardness in Spiritual Matters. The Greek church was guided by an extremely backward spirit which was totally opposed to the advanced ideas and aspirations of the Bulgarian nation. It should not be surprising to us that the Greek monks of St. Athos considered books of no consequence because scholars brought corruption to the world by them. The Greek church and spiritual centre of Constantinople, Phanar[1]), was in no way on a higher intellectual plane in that respect. Here is what the noted historian Jacob Philipp Falmerayer[2]) writes about it: „There came here[3]), as a director, the noted resident of Corfu, Eugene Bulgari (1716—1806). This was during the first years of the reign of Empress Catherine II. He found only seven students in the spacious halls. This man was a perfect master in the Greek language and had occupied himself with philosophical and historical studies in an European manner. The educational institution advanced very quickly. The fame of the teacher, the spirit of the times and the beautiful location of the school attracted many young men from all parts of Turkey, Russ a and Italy to the Vatopaed Academy. Eugene had gathered around himself about 200 students residing in 170 cells when he was at the peak of his glory... What were the most beautiful abodes of European muses compared to the superb academy in the forest of this holy mountain! But just as in the case of the Andros school of Kairi[4]), so here people began to think that Eugene Bulgari and his institute were sowing the seeds of dangerous innovations, anarchistic unrest and a spiritual emancipation which threatened to upset the Greek Ecclesiastical Orient. The monks, however, had no idea, at the time when the academy was established, that such a change would take place. They felt now that the old religious practices at the Holy Mountain would not thrive along with philosophy and free mental gymnastics. They were wor-

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[1]) Phanar is the residence of the Greek Patriarchate in Constantinople.

[2]) Jacob Philipp Falmerayer, Der heilige Berg Athos; aus den Fragmenten aus dem Orient, 1845, Reclam Universal Bibliotek No. 5048, p. 103; Cf. Meyer's Volksbibliothek für Lander-, Völker- u. Naturkunde; Hildburghausen u. New-York, 1853—56. vol. 27, p. 60.

[3]) In the Athos monastery of Vatopaedi in a new building which was built for a theolcgical academy; ibid p. 102.

[4]) Greek theolcgian and educator. Many noted Bulgarians studied in the school established by him, like Ilarion Makariopolski, Dobrovolski, Tehomacoff etc.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

ried about the faith of the heavenly light of Tabor, of the pilgrim caravans, of the spiritual credit and the annual ceremonies of sacrifice and devotion, as well as of the rigidity of their own discipline. Bulgari and his school were destined to perish. At first, they started with insinuations and innuendoes against the learned master, by undermining his authority. They cast suspicion on the morals of teacher and students and gave unfavourable reports to the Greek church authorities in Constantinople. They found no peace in their mind until this man volunteered with his resignation. Disgusted, he left and, after a short stay at Phanar, he betook himself to Russia where a brilliant future was awaiting him... The enchantment of the environment left with the retirement of the director. The students were scattered, the life of the Academy declined and it was closed finally by rescript of the Oecumenical Patriarch on the ground that it was „objectionable to religion and morality". Happy over their victory, the monks tore down the roof of the building and knocked out its doors with the intention of removing all hopes for the return of the run away enemy. Rich mountain bushes project to day (1841—our note) from the gaping doorways and, instead of the smiling youthful faces over the window sills, evergreen weeds and creaping wild shrubs are hanging.".

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Does not this sound like a story of the Middle Ages? And yet this event took place just 175 years ago and not in the dark period of the Middle Ages.

17. A Small Illustration, 1837. Mr. Misheff, member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences relates the following story[1]), which we would use here as an illustration:

„The central localities had to struggle long against the encroachments and hostile resistance of the Greek clergy. In 1837 Hadji Valko Chaluckoff made up his mind to open a Bulgarian school in Plovdiv (Philippopol) and invited Neophit of Rila to be its schoolmaster. Before realizing his project, he advised the Greek bishop of his intention. The latter, after hearing from him about it, said: „Chorbadji (Squire), you know well that I have nothing to say against your enterprise

[1]) D. Misheff, The Bulgarians in the Past. Lausanne, 1916, pp. 297—298.

S. Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1948 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

175 personally, but in view of the strict orders which we have from our Patriarchate to watch closely every effort on the part of the Bulgarians to start schools, especially in the cities, I am duty bound to bring your intention of opening such an institution to the knowledge of the Patriarchate. I am sure that the Patriarchate would not manifest its opposition right away, nor will it take immediate steps to close it, but in the long run it will find a plausible cause to discredit you before the Government, with the result that you would be exiled and your school closed. If you, therefore, care to guard your own nterests, you better desist from your undertaking".

After thinking it over, the Bulgarian notables decided to open a school in Koprivshtitsa instead. In 1840 the Bulgarians in Plovdiv made an effort to start a school of their own, or at least to have the Bulgarian language taught in the existing common schools which vere opened for all pupils. The Greek bishop Charysantos not only objected to having „the barbarous and dissonant" Slav-Bulgarian language (as he described it) studied in the schools, but protested immediately to the Ottoman authorities against the wishes of the Bulgarian notables, whom he accused being prompted by revolutionary ideas and, therefore, acted as enemies of the state".

This „episode" is contemporaneous to the times of Dickens, Lamenais, Hebbel, Gogol and to the period of the first railroads in Europe.

18. The Renaissance of the Bulgarian Nation, 1762. On the subject of Bulgarian renaissance, we will quote the words of Prof. Shishmanoff*): „By a fatal coincidence, unfortunately, Western European Renaissance began just when the Balkan peoples, battered completely, fell under the brutal aud merciles dominion of the conqueror... To evaluate the full tragedy of our national misfortune, suffice ft to state, that the period of Western European Renaissance is the period of the greatest discoveries: the discovery of the New and Ancient Worlds, the discovery of America of one hand and of Hellas and Rome on the other. This is the age of Coper-

*) Prof. Iv. D. Shishmanoff. Western Enropean and Bulgarian Renaissance; Bulgarian Historical Library, year I, p. 166. (in Bulgarian).

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

nicus and Galileo who opened for us the celestial world. We have at ths time the invention of the art of printing which helped the spread of ideas by books. Here is the age of most gifted masters of speech, beauty and marble, like Petrarch and Boccacio, Ariosto and Tasso, Camoens and Servantes, of Rabelais and Montaigne, of Shakespeare, Michel-Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Rafael and Tician. This is the period of great philosophers like Bacon, Giordano Bruno etc. etc ... Bulgaria was unable to benefit by all these miracles of rich material, intellectual, spiritual and esthetic culture ... At this same time, our half illiterate monks the only representatives of our intellectual life in this remote dark age, contemporaries of Ariosto and Tasso, of Shakespeare and Servantes, of Rafael and Tician, devoted their lives to the painstaking and tedious work of copying the lives of saints or of painting ikons, which betryed the complete conventionality and frigidity of Byzantine art!"

But neither the Turkish political, nor the Greek ecclesiastical slavery were in a position to suppress the spirit of the Bulgarian nation. It was encouraged by the enlightened groups of artizans, merchants and clergymen. A bright spark flashed all of a sudden in this dark period. This spark was the Slavic Bulgarian history of a Bulgarian monk of Macedonian origin called Paissi Hilendarski[1]). This was a hand written manuscript of 1762, which told the Bulgarian people of their glorious past, of their Kings and Patriarchs. The manuscript was called by the common people „The Book of Kings" and was copied and distributed widely in the Bulgarian lands. The plea of this Bulgarian monk to his people was „Oh Bulgarians, get to know your origin and your language". This was a forward call for the hard struggle to obtain schools and churches, enlightement, civilization and freedom of conscience: a struggle against anything that was Greek. The hatred, accumulated for centuries past — already 1083 years old — broke out with new force. This was the Bulgarian Renaissance.

„The Bulgarian Renaissance, as a process of development, has something in common with the Renaissance of Westren Europe:

[1]) A monk of the Hilendar Monastery, Mont Athos.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1
Historical Bulgaria EE2

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dom of conscience and a struggle for free national church and school.

So, 100 years after the appearance of the history ot Paissi (1760 — 1860), the Bulgarian settlement in Constantinople, denied the Greek Patriarchate in a solemn religious service and presented a petition to the Turkish Government for an independent Bulgarian National Church. This was a church revolutionary act. It puzzled and confused the Turkish Government, because it came from the most numerous Christian population in the Balkan Peninsula and from a people who had such an advanced national consciousness, that they felt already the approach of their political liberation, which actually took place 18 years later.

The Turks tried to frighten the Bulgarian nation by the ostrich methods of their policy of half measures. The Government exiled the Bulgarian bishops and refused to acknowledge the approaching danger for the Ottoman Empire. All these methods were of no avail. The Bulgarian nation was firmly convinced in the justice of its demands and rights and the danger for the Turkish Government had become so imminent, that it could not help but surrender its position, and on February 28, 1872 the Sultan issued a proclamation and authorized the establishment of an Independent Bulgarian Nationai Church as the Bulgarian Exarchate, manned and managed by an ecclesiastical staff of its own, comming from the people.

20. Schisme. The Greek Anathema, 1872. This enormous Bulgarian success forced the helpless Greek Patriarch to take rash steps. On May 13, 1872 he proclamed the schism of the Bulgarian church and cast anathema on the Bulgarians. History has never registered a more ridiculous anathema. This actually turned to be a blessing for the success of the Bulgarian national cause, because it led to the attainment of their political liberty. The reconciliation of the two churches was brought about finally in 1945.

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21. The Turkish Rule of That Time. Turkey was in a sad and pityful state at the end of the 19th century. The Turkish rule. clinging to its practices of the Middle Ages and having no intention of

S. Bojkoff K-4,5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

175 reforming the excercise of its authority, had become an unbearable oppression for the Bulgarians, which were the most persecuted of all Balkan nations. A sample of Turkish administration, though not one of the most characteristic for that time, is found in the repport of the British correspondent Robert J. More:[1])

Revenue and expenses for the district of Philippopolis:

Revenue for 1874-75

	In Turkish Lires 1874	1875
Army exemption tax	151,410	169,303
Tithes and contribution farmed out	249,868	461,335
Tithes collected by the Government	154,300	115,405
Different	1,725	1,839
Duty of vine, tobacco, and stamps	23,516	50,604
LT.	580,820	798,487

Expenses for 1874-75

Expenses for internal administration	6,882	6,791
„ „ financial department	16,839	15,455
„ „ courts and juges' salaries	3,391	3,349
„ „ public education	1,011	1,048
„ „ public buildings	1,021	—
LT.	29,144	26,643

„From this synopsis it will be seen that, whilst the revenue of 1875 increased to the extent of about LT. 200,000, the administrative expenses of the district decreased by nearly LT. 3,000. But as the Bulgarian Christian male population in the sandjak of Philippopolis is 204,000; whilst that of the Mohammedan is only 140,000, it follows that the greatly preponderating amount of taxes is paid by the former, in addition to which must be taken into consideration the relative degree of industry of the two races. Whilst only LT. 1000 is expended on education, and this exclusively on Turkish primary schools, not a

[1]) Robert Jaspar More, Under the Balkans; notes of a visit to the Districts of Philippopolis in 1876, London, 1877. p. 20. R. J. More investigated with other European correspondents Turkish atrocities in South Bulgaria during 1876. Philippopolis or Plovdiv is the capital of South Bulgaria.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

farthing is spend on Bulgarian education. Again, whilst LT. 26,500 is paid in governmental salaries, only LT. 200 is received, collectively, by the ten Bulgarian representatives who are members of the department of justice". More says further about the Turkish unwillingness to help Bulgarian education the following (p. 25 and 26):

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„The rapid spread of the educational movement in Bulgaria, from the admirable elementary education of the free village schools, to the training of the sons of landed proprietors and the commercial classes at Robert College[1]), carries conviction that there will be no lack elements for local self-government in Roumelia[2]), if only the moral and material resources of the country are allowed free development. It seems a pity that, whilst the Russians were helping this movement, the English were denying the qualification of the Bulgarian to govern themselves... No printing is allowed in this place (Plovdiv); and the only newspapers taken in at any public place of ressort are in Greek language..." in spite of the fact, that, according to More the distribution of the population of the Sandjak (of Philippopolis = Plovdiv) was as follows:

Bulgarians	200,335	or 57,6 %
Turks	127,260	„ 36,7 %
Gypsies	13,892	„ 4,0 %
Greeks	*4,000*	„ *1,1* %
Jews	2,059	„ 0,6 %
Armenians	477	„ 0,1 %
Total	347,723	or 100,0 %

The high officials in Turkey at that time were in a large degree illiterates.

22. Insurrection and Atrocities, 1595-1876. On top of the cultural and economic inconsistencies of the Ottoman Empire, the political situation had deteriorated to such an extent, that unrest and revolt set in among

[1]) Robert College, founded in Constantinople by the Americans Dr. Cyrus Hamlin and the New-York business man Mr. Christopher Robert in 1863. Many noted Bulgarians and Bulgarian statesmen studied and are graduated from this college.

[2]) At present South Bulgaria.

S. Boikoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE2 Bulgaria EE1

175 the Bulgarians about the end of the 16th century. The Bulgarians, who were situated in the heart of the empire, were subjected to an impossible treatment. The first insurrection took place in 1596 and others followed in 1688. More recent insurrections were those of the Morava districts at Nish and the vicinity in 1841, then at Vidin in 1850, at Tirnovo in 1854 and, especially, the insurrections of 1867 to 1868. The Central Revolutionary Committee abroad was formed in 1869. It took in the foremost revolutionary leaders at the time. Finally the revolt of the Sredna Gora region, the „Kingdom of Roses", broke out in 1876. This revolt was suppressed and drowned in streams of blood. The atrocities committed by the regular and irregular Turkish forces excited the whole civ zed world. The European newspapers dispatched some of their ablest correspondents on the spot and public opinion was fully informed, for the first time, about the enslaved Bulgarians and about the actual situation in Turkey. The roses of Bulgaria were tinted profusely with the blood of the Bulgarians. Many foreigners that know Bulgaria as „the Land of Roses" have hardly heard of the tragedy which these roses witnessed in silence.

23. The Conference of Ambassadors of Constantinople, 1876-1877. Even the diplomatic representatives in Constantinople, who were not distinguished with any marked sympathies for the suffering Bulgarians, were compelled to undertake an investigation of the Turkish rule in these enslaved lands. This investigation brought out some very incriminating evidence against the authority of the Turks. The Ambassadors' Conference (1876-77) recommended some reforms for Turkey, along with the establishment of an autonomous district for the Bulgarians. The Turkish Government rejected the proposals of the ambassadors and the War of Liberation broke out in 1877.

24. Russo-Turkish War, 1877-1878. The noted English writer H. G. Wells, writes in his interesting book „Outline of History": [1])

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[1]) H. G. Wells, Outline of History, vol. III, p. 1013-14; New-York 1940/41.

8: Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

175

„A fresh upthrust of what we have here called the natural map against the diplomatic arrangements of the treaty of Vienna began in 1875, when the Christian races in the Balkan, and particulary the Bulgarians became restless and insurgent. The Turks adopted violent repressive measures, and embarked upon massacres of the Bulgarians on an enormous scale. Thereupon Russia intervened (1877), and after a year of costly warfare obliged the Turks to sign the treaty of San Stefano, which was, on the whole, a sensible treaty, breaking up the artifical Turkish Empire, and to a large extend establishing the natural map. But it had became the tradition of British policy to thwart „the designs of Russia" — heaven knows why! — whenever Russia appeared to have a design, and the British foreign office, under the premiership of Lord Beaconsfield, intervened with a threat of war if a considerable restauration of the Turks' facilities for exaction, persecution and massacres was not made. For a time war seemed very probable. In consequence of the British opposition, a conference was assembled in 1878 at Berlin to revise the treaty of San Stefano, chiefly in the interests of Turkish and Austrian monarchies and Lord Beaconsfield returned triumphantly from the Berlin Conference, with what the British were given to understand at the time was „Peace with Honour." This treaty of Berlin was the second main factor... in bringing about the great war of 1914-18."

Let us hear two more authors on the subject of the causes of the Russo-Turkish war of 1878, the Peace Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin. One of them is John Richard Green[1]) in his popular book „A Short History of the English People."

„Reports of atrocities commited by bashi-bozouks in Bulgaria began to reach England and Lord Derby, the foreign minister, trough the British ambassador at the Port, demanded from the Sultan immediate and adequate reparation. By this time indignation in England had reached its high pitch, but it was roused to flame by Gladstone's pamphlet „The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East" which was circulated far and wide. This tract is popularly remembered for its demand that the British governement,

[1]) In fact this chapter of Green's history is written by R. P. Farley, who continued this classic work.

St. Berkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

175 „which has been working in one direction, shall in the other, and shall applay all his vigour to concur with the other states of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely, by carrying off themselves. Their zapties and their mudirs, their bimbashis and their youzbashis, their kaimakams and their pashas, one and all, bag and baggage shall, I hope, clear out of the province they have desolated and profaned"... By the treaty of San Stefano... Bulgaria was to be constituted an autonomous Principality with a Christian Governement and a national militia, to extend from the Danube to the Aegean, and nearly as far south as Adrinople and Salonica. Great Britain insisted that Treaty should be submitted to an European Congress, which was held at the Berlin on June 8 and was attended by Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury. Why these distinguished men should have taken the trouble to cross to Berlin is not obvious to the plain intelligence, seeing that Lord Salisbury had already (on May 30) signed a secret convention with count Shouvaloff, and a secret treaty had also been concluded with the Porte... By the Treaty of Berlin, which was signed an July 13, the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano were confirmed with certain vital exceptions. Bulgaria was to consist of a narrow tract of land between the Danube and the Balkans and to have autonomy under the suzerenity of Turkey. The area to the south of Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia, was to be restored to the Sultan... This Treaty was the cause of friction and misunderstanding with Russia... and it is highly questionable if the policy of keeping the Turks in Europe has been justified by results."

The other author is the great French writer André Maurois who has wide connections among the British public. In his wellknovn book „La vie de Disraeli" [1]), he gives the following characteristic features, which agree well with the impression left to us by the quotations from H. G. Wells and Green: „Lord Beaconsfield remains calm. He considers the treaty (of San Stefano) unacceptable. He advises Shouvaloff that he will not attend the Congress unless a direct Anglo-

[1]) Edition Hachette, 1927.

Russian understanding is reached on the important points (p. 221). Feeble old men, relaxed on the cushions of their sleepers which were converging on Berlin from Brussels and Petersburg, Beaconsfield and Gortchakoff were moved by the same sentiment... All the states were arriving with secret conventions at this Conference where a treaty was supposed to be discused in a liberal manner... Neither Gortchakoff nor Beaconsfield were geographers. Gortchakoff liked, as he used to say, to deal with the main and important points, i. e. he built phrazes, but placed in front of a map he was unable to find even Batum (p. 229).

„Beaconsfield found Bismark very changed, but he observed in him the tone he liked, simple and real. a little bit chagrinned, with crude sincerity and things awful spoken in a sweet voice ringing out of this huge body. Bismark told him that he intended to attend the Congress beating thedrum. He found it necessary, however, to devote the first days, while the dispositions were still favourable, to the great questions which might become the cause of war. They were to begin, therefore, with Bulgaria... And so everything was O. K... Apart from Bismark and himself (Beaconsfield) there were no other grand characters... Bismark went on with the abruptness of a military. Alof a sudden, the division of Bulgaria in two see parate parts along the line of the Balkan ra ng was adopted without discussions... (p. 225/6)."

We feel it would be interesting to quote the following passage also which suggests the original thought of the German invasion of the Balkans:

„Beaconsfield, on his part, divined the far flung aspirations of the chancellor: standing in front of a huge map of the world, they were discussing the prospects of colonisation and Bismark, considering that it would be politically expedient, took the part of an opponent, while Beaconsfield's index finger roamed over the Balkan provinces. „Do you not think, said he, that here is a fine place for colonisation?" Bismark looked at him and said nothing. (p. 228)."

This is the sad story, so well presented by distinguished European writers. Lord Beaconsfield returned triumphantly from Berlin with what the British were to believe „Peace and Honour".

S. Soikoff - K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

175 **25. This Situation Resulted in Wars. 1885 — 1914.** War followed war. A fratricidal war between Bulgaria and Serbia was provoked in 1885/6 by the Serbs. They took advantage of a bloodless revolution in Bulgaria, that united the free North (Danube) Bulgaria with the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia (South Bulgaria) which was still under Turkish suzerainty. By this act the Bulgarian nation ammended one of the arbitrary arrangements of the Berlin Treaty.

Necessity, however, imposed on Bulgaria and Serbia to forget their past troubles and misunderstandings and made them attempt a rapprochement for the solution of the remaining unsolved Balkan problem — the liberation of the rest of the unredeemed Slavs from the Turkish yoke. This policy did not only bring together these two main factors for peace and order in the Balkans, but it brought about the union of all Balkan states: Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece, against the oppressor of Balkan liberty and progress — Turkey (1911). Events accelerated the inevitable war. Uprisals broke out in Albania during 1911. There was unrest among the Albanians in the neighbouring districts also. The Young Turks perpetrated many cruelties and murders arousing Western Europe. The Balkan Commitee in London protested with a manifesto. The British bishops headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury addressed a writen protest to the Sultan and the Turkish Parliament (January 25, 1912). This protest drew attention to the suppression of all political liberties, to the terrible attrocities etc. and in conclusion said that there was nothing worse than the life in Macedonia. The butcheries in Kotchane (Macedonia) and Berat (Albania) followed. The united Balkan states required, both through the good offices of the Great Powers and directly from Turkey, the application of article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin, which provided the introduction of reforms that Turkey took upon herself to apply 66 years ago! War broke out on October 18, 1912 and ended with the full defeat of Turkey but at the same time with a scramble among the allies, who were unable to agree on the division of the Turkish Balkan dominions! Bulgaria claimed the biggest share proportionate to her military significance in the war and to her largest losses in men and materials. Instead she was mislead to enter in the war against her former allies, and the Balkan problems vere solved in a manner which established the cause

8. Bojkoff K-4, 5 (no date) 1946 FE1 Bulgaria EE1

for new wars. Nevertheless, Bulgaria obtained an outlet on the Aegean Sea and this was recognized as a reasonable act by all Balkan peoples (1913).

The events in Europe that brought about the First World War found Bulgaria on the side of Germany. The violation of essential Bulgarian rights after the Balkan wars and the outrage exercised by the former allies (1912) of Bulgaria over the Bulgarian population, left under the foreign domination, had much to do in leading Bulgaria to take this fatal decision, which was absolutely opposed to the highest interests of the Bulgarian nation. The Carnegie Foundation made an investigation (1914) to establish the truth about cruelties practiced by both sides over the peaceful population and their abuse of the international rules for carrying on war. We may safely say that Bulgaria came out with honor as a result of this investigation, while the same could not be said about the Greek army, as we will point out this further in our study.

The World War of 1914-1918 ended for Bulgaria with the Treaty of Neuilly. Bulgaria was punished in an unprecedented manner. The biggest punishment, however, was depriving her from the outlet on the Aegean Sea, which all Balkan peoples unanimously recognized as her reasonable right in spite of their inimical attitude.

26. The Peace Treaty of Neuilly, 1919.

If we consider the Peace Treaty of Berlin as a fatal step for the peace in Europe, then the Treaty of Versailles - Neuilly was the unpardonable repetition of the same fault for the Balkans. It was a peace arrangement fostered by statesmen who were blinded by revenge. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Balfour, Sonino and Orlando were the authors of a peace of „politicians". Dillon[1]) speaks of them as follows: „They were novices in international affairs. Geography, ethnology, psychology and political history were forbidden books for them. What they lacked might have been supplied, to a large degree, by a selection of counsellors more widely informed than they. They chose, however, the help of mediocrities. Since the heads of the main governments, by implication, pretended to be the authorized representatives of the human

[1]) Dillon, The Peace Conference; cif. H. G. Wells, opus cit. vol. III, p. 1114.

000 „We had large gangs of Turks but they are never really good workmen, owing to their utter inability to stick long to one thing. As the poaching loafer of a country village often becomes quite a hero in such an emergency as a fire or an inundation, so is the Turk good at a pinch, but for steady continuous work give me the Bulgar. Rare indeed was it to find a Greek or Armenian on the line with a pick in his hand, and never if the foreman were worth his salt. The Greek may just earn his bread as servant or office-boy, or by keeping a drinking shop, but never by hard, steady labour ..."

175 **40. A Synopsis of the History of Bulgaria (Appendixes I, A-E),** Many history books attribute greater significance to the martial exploits of the Bulgarian kings, rather than to their civilizing activity. This fact has in a way worked against a proper understanding of the real meaning and spirit of Bulgarian history. The Bulgarian people are bold and forceful in their national consciousness, but their importance goes much further and by the measure of this significance they should be compared to other Balkan peoples. We observe a sequence in the development of Bulgarian history, which is not at all accidental. A bold and united tribe invaded the Balkan Peninsula (679). Its military life was well organized. Taking advantage of the division and instability of the fluid Slavic tribes, who had invaded the peninsula before them, they set to win them to the acceptance of the idea of a uniformed and powerful state and to remove the foreign Byzantine and Greek element from the peninsula, in order to turn it into an attractive and satisfactory living space for them. Asparuch (645 — 702) is the conqueror and founder of this state. Krum (802 — 814) is the legislator who ushered in the second period of assimilation. Boris (866 — 889) is the christener of the people. The introduction of Christianity is the third period of assimilation. In the time of Boris and Simeon (866 — 927) we have the third element of assimilation,—the writings which are the beginning of Slavic church literature and culture. This factor gave birth to the Bulgarian national church and the Bulgarian nation owes to it its preservation during the most arduous times of its existence
000 later. This sequence in the development of the Bulgarian nation reveals to us the spirit of Bulgarian history. The centuries

7/1 [See pp. 105(A)-109(B)--Analyst]

175

SYNOPTIC HISTORY of BULGARIA

THE RULERS

FIRST BULGARIAN KINGDOM 339 Years

The Bulgarians coming from North East subjected and united the Slavs in the lands, which later were called BULGARIA, and founded the BULGARIAN KINGDOM

KHAN ASPARUK

KHAN ASPARUKH passes the Danube and settles in the Balkan Peninsula.

THE FOUNDER

The History of Bulgaria during THE FIRST (679–1018) and THE SECOND Bulgarian Kingdom (1186–1393) is a continuous struggle against the Byzantine Empire to rid the Balkan Peninsula of Byzantine authority which was foreign to the local population.

TERVEL

SEVAR

KORMISOSH

The Bulgarians threatened Constantinople. → 755

SEVERAL KHANS

KARDAM

Unifying the Nation and strengthening the Kingdom. Victories and acquisitions. Legislation. Attempt to unify Slavs in Macedonia and Thrace.

Krum defeated the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus.

811 KRUM THE LEGISLA

OMORTAG

Krum reached Constantinople.

MALAMIR

PRESSIAM

Long rule of a wise ruler. Development of Bulgarian letters.

Free trade exchange.

THE BULGARIANS CHRISTIANIZED 86

KING BORIS I THE CHRISTENE

Period of peaceful endeavours. Unifying the Nation through common religion.

THE APOSTAT

VLADIMIR

Development of Bulgarian letters. No Slavic people had yet their own literature except the Bulgarians; Successful conquests. COLDEN AGE.

TZAR SIMEON

SIMEON THREATENED CONSTANTINOPLE. 922 → GOLDEN AGE

924

(Continued)

105 (A)
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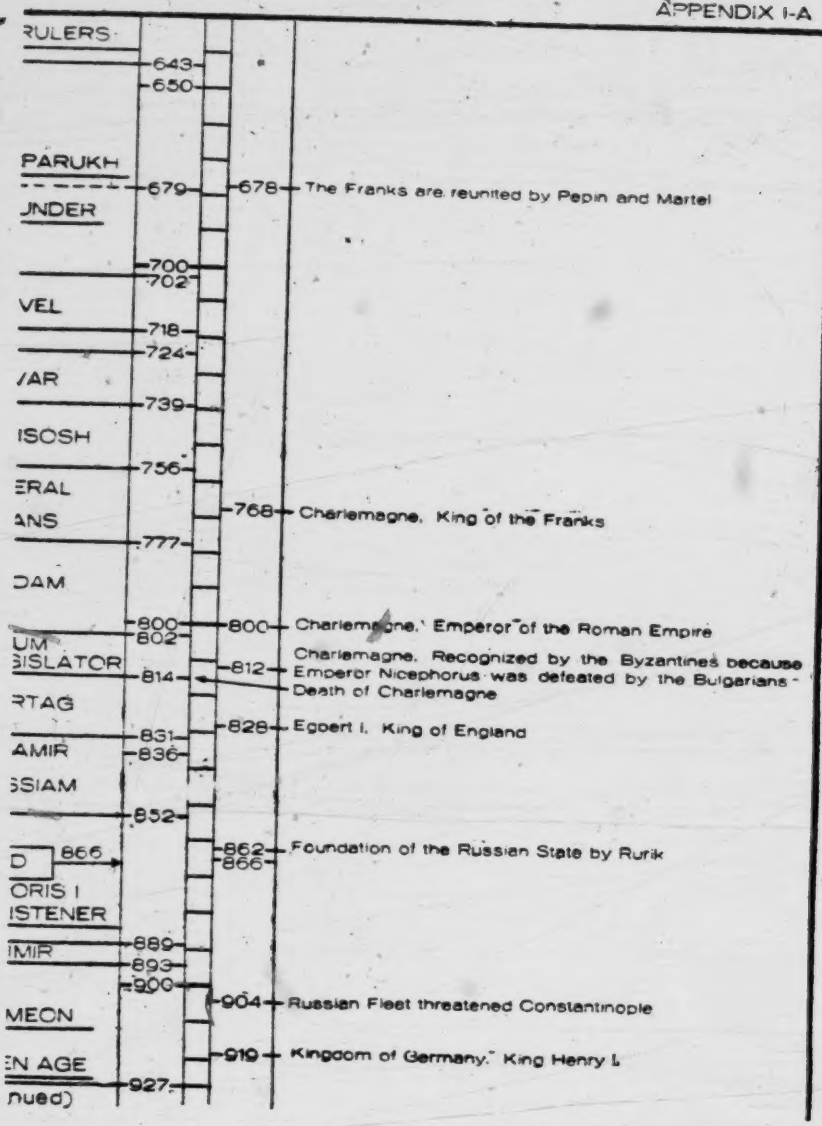
APPENDIX I-A

175



105 (B)

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175

BULGARIA—HISTORY (CONTINUATION)

FIRST BULGAR KINGDOM

St. John of Rila (876–946). Founder of the Rila Monastery — TZAR PETER I

Russian Invasion

East Bulgaria under Byzantine Rule — 968 — 971

Samuel Leader of West Bulgaria Macedonia

Samuel, Tzar of Bulgaria — 997 — TZAR SAMUEL

UNDER BYZANTINE RULE 168 years

BULGARIA UNDER BYZANTINE DOMINION

The Byzantine Empire preserved to some degree the organization of the Bulgarian Kingdom. It kept Bulgarian Patriarchate in Ochrid as an Archbishopric — BULGARIAN INSURRECTIC

The Governor of Bulgaria was the LOCUM TENENS OF THE EMPEROR with the Title DUX BULGARIAE — BULGARIAN INSURRECTIC

The Byzantine Empire beginn to disintegrate about the XII century. Feudalism and Anarchy.

The Bogomil Movement helped the dissolution of the Kingdom. It was a Religion and Social Teaching which was continued by the Albigenses in Western Europe

2nd BULG KINGDOM

BULGARIAN INSURRECTION

The Weak Byzantine (Greek) rule was easily overturned by a Bulgarian Insurrection in Tirnovo, the New Capital of Bulgaria. The Byzantine Empire was so weakly organized that the Crusaders conquered it and made of it a Latin Empire, with Constantinople as Capital

TZAR ASSEN

TZAR KALOYA

TZAR BORIL

(Continued)

106(A)
[Left hand side)

175

APPENDIX I-B

927

941 A Russian fleet threatened Constantinople

ETER I

962 Otto I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire

971

980

988 THE RUSSIANS CHRISTIANIZED

AMUEL

1000 The Vikings in North America

1014

1018

AN

ECTION 1041

1042 EDWARD THE CONFESSOR in England

1050 The Turks conquered the Moslem Empire

RIAN

1066 Norman invasion in England. William the Conqueror

ECTION 1073

1071 The Turks besieged the Byzantines by Manzikert, Armenia

1100

1097 The FIRST CRUSADE. Godefrey of Bouillon

1147 The SECOND CRUSADE

1150 The Oxford and Cambridge Universities

1165

1169 Serbia United in a State

1185

SSEN I

1189 The 3-rd CRUSADE. Richard Coeur de Lion

1195

LOVAN 1200

1204 The 4-th CRUSADE. Constantinople Captured

1207

BORIL

1218

1218 The 5-th CRUSADE

nued)

106(B)
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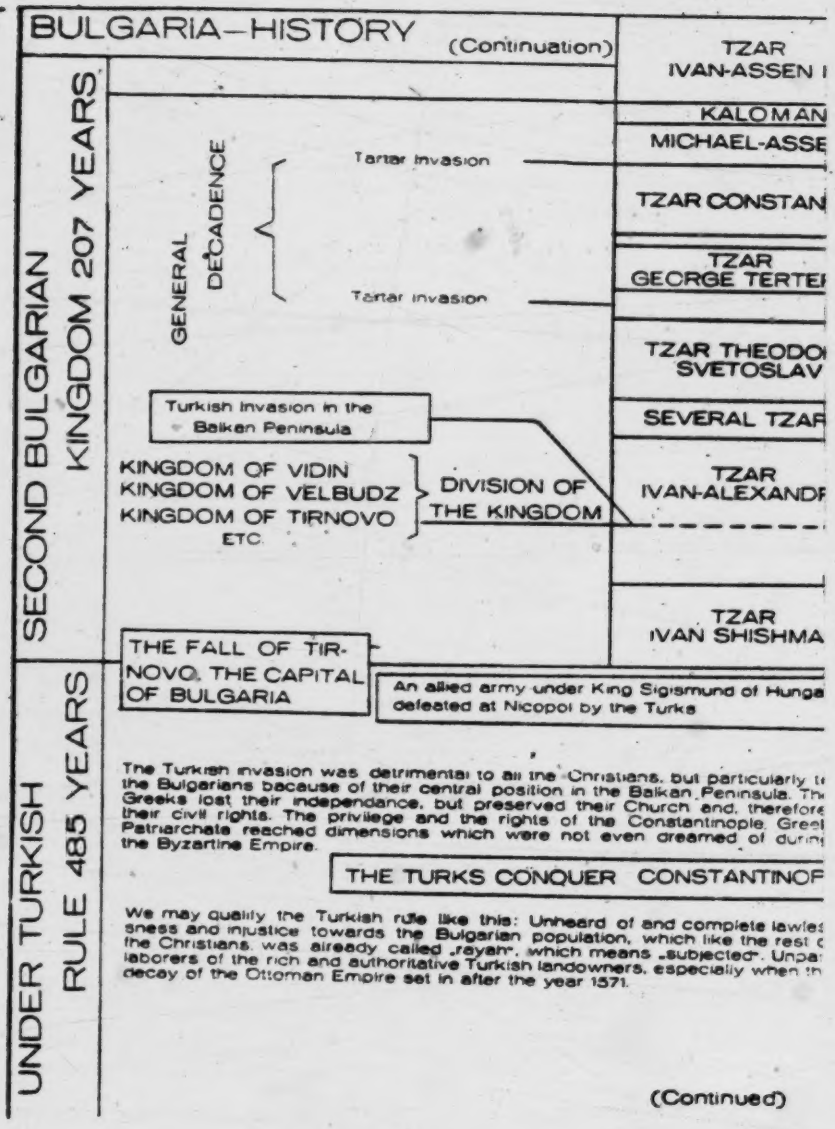
●175


BULGARIA—HISTORY (Continuation)
SECOND BULGARIAN KINGDOM 207 YEARS
UNDER TURKISH RULE 485 YEARS
TZAR IVAN-ASSEN I
KALOMAN
MICHAEL-ASSE
TZAR CONSTAN
TZAR GEORGE TERTE
TZAR THEODO SVETOSLAV
SEVERAL TZAR
TZAR IVAN-ALEXANDF
TZAR IVAN SHISHMA
GENERAL DECADENCE
Tartar invasion
Tartar invasion
Turkish invasion in the Balkan Peninsula
KINGDOM OF VIDIN
KINGDOM OF VELBUDZ
KINGDOM OF TIRNOVO
ETC.
DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM
THE FALL OF TIR-NOVO, THE CAPITAL OF BULGARIA
An allied army under King Sigismund of Hunga defeated at Nicopol by the Turks
The Turkish invasion was detrimental to all the Christians, but particularly t the Bulgarians because of their central position in the Balkan Peninsula. Th Greeks lost their independance, but preserved their Church and, therefore their civil rights. The privilege and the rights of the Constantinople Greel Patriarchate reached dimensions which were not even dreamed of durin the Byzartine Empire.
THE TURKS CONQUER CONSTANTINOF
We may qualify the Turkish rule like this: Unheard of and complete lawles sness and injustice towards the Bulgarian population, which like the rest c the Christians, was already called „rayah", which means „subjected". Unpa laborers of the rich and authoritative Turkish landowners, especially when th decay of the Ottoman Empire set in after the year 1571.

(Continued)

107(A)
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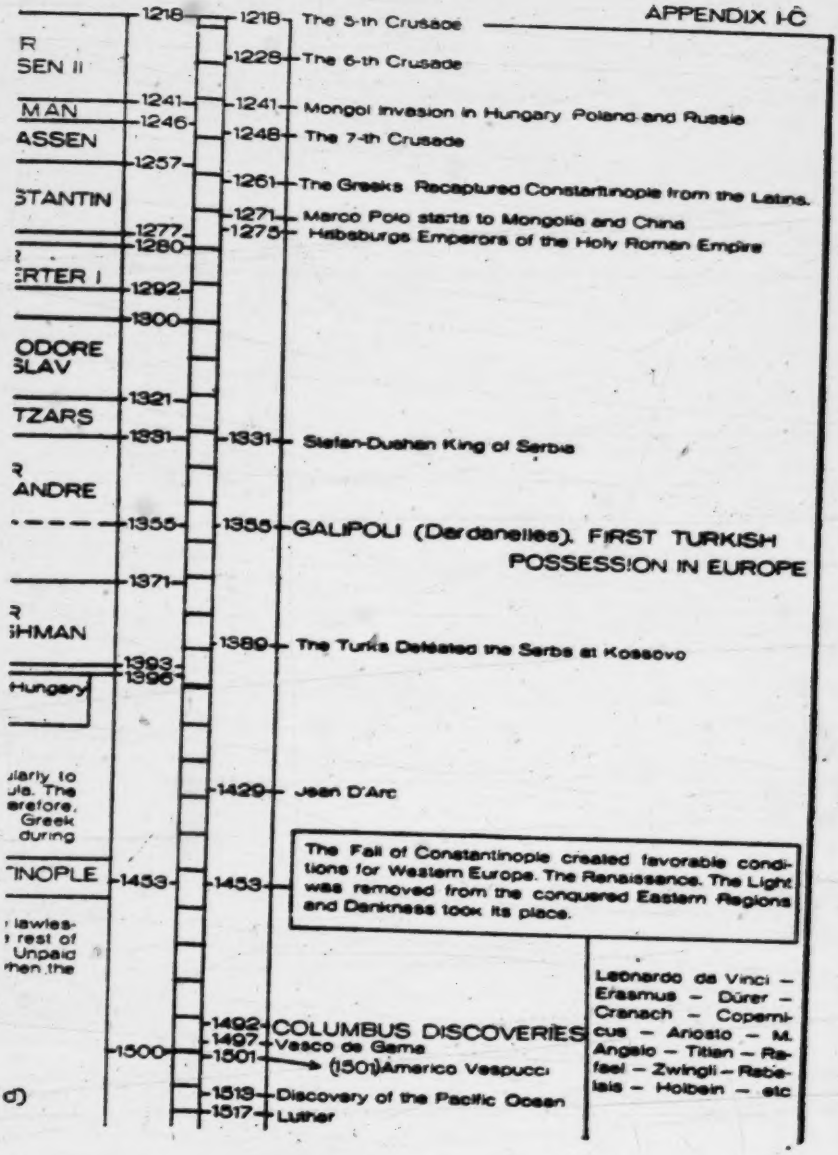
175

APPENDIX I-C


1218 The 5-th Crusade
1228 The 6-th Crusade
1241 Mongol invasion in Hungary Poland and Russia
1248 The 7-th Crusade
1261 The Greeks Recaptured Constantinople from the Latins.
1271 Marco Polo starts to Mongolia and China
1275 Habsburgs Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire
1331 Stefan-Dushan King of Serbia
1355 GALIPOLI (Dardanelles). FIRST TURKISH POSSESSION IN EUROPE
1389 The Turks Defeated the Serbs at Kossovo
1429 Jean D'Arc
1453 The Fall of Constantinople created favorable conditions for Western Europe. The Renaissance. The Light was removed from the conquered Eastern Regions and Darkness took its place.
1492 COLUMBUS DISCOVERIES
1497 Vasco de Gama
1501 (1501) Americo Vespucci
1513 Discovery of the Pacific Ocean
1517 Luther
Leonardo da Vinci – Erasmus – Dürer – Cranach – Copernicus – Ariosto – M. Angelo – Titian – Rafael – Zwingli – Rabelais – Holbein – etc

107(B)
[Right-hand side]

175

BULGARIA—HISTORY (CONTINUATION)

UNDER TURKISH RULE 485 YEARS

„THE GREEK YOKE" in Turkish times: This is the authority of the Constantinople Patriarch over the Bulgarian population in Religious matters. The last traces of the Bulgarian Church, libraries, science and culture are destroyed. The Greek Bishops were worse than the Turkish Pashas. This is the „Spiritual Yoke" of the Bulgarian people.

Selim I becomes Sultan and C

Hungary under Turkish Dominic

The Turks at Vienna

John the Terrible, Tzar of Russ

Victory over the Turkish Fleet at
panto.

AUSTRIAN-TURKISH WA

THE BEGINNING OF THE DECLINE of the Turkish Kingdom 1683

The Turks besiege Vienna; then withdraw

Austrian-Turkish-Wars INSURRECTION IN BULGARIA at Chiprovtzi

The Austrians under Eugene of Savoy annihilate the Turks at Zenta; Peace of Karlova

The Renaissance of the Bulgarian nation: The monk Paissi writes a history of the Bulgarian people, its political and cultural past. This book is copied and recopied and passed from hand to hand. It stirred the national consciousnes of the Bulgarians. The people call this book „The Book of Kings"

Irregular Turkis bands committe cruelties and vic lence over th Bulgarian popu lation

The Closing of the Ochrid Patriarchate which functioned as a remainder of the old Bulgarian Patriarchate since 1020

Russian-Turkish Wars

Russian-Turkish War

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108(A)

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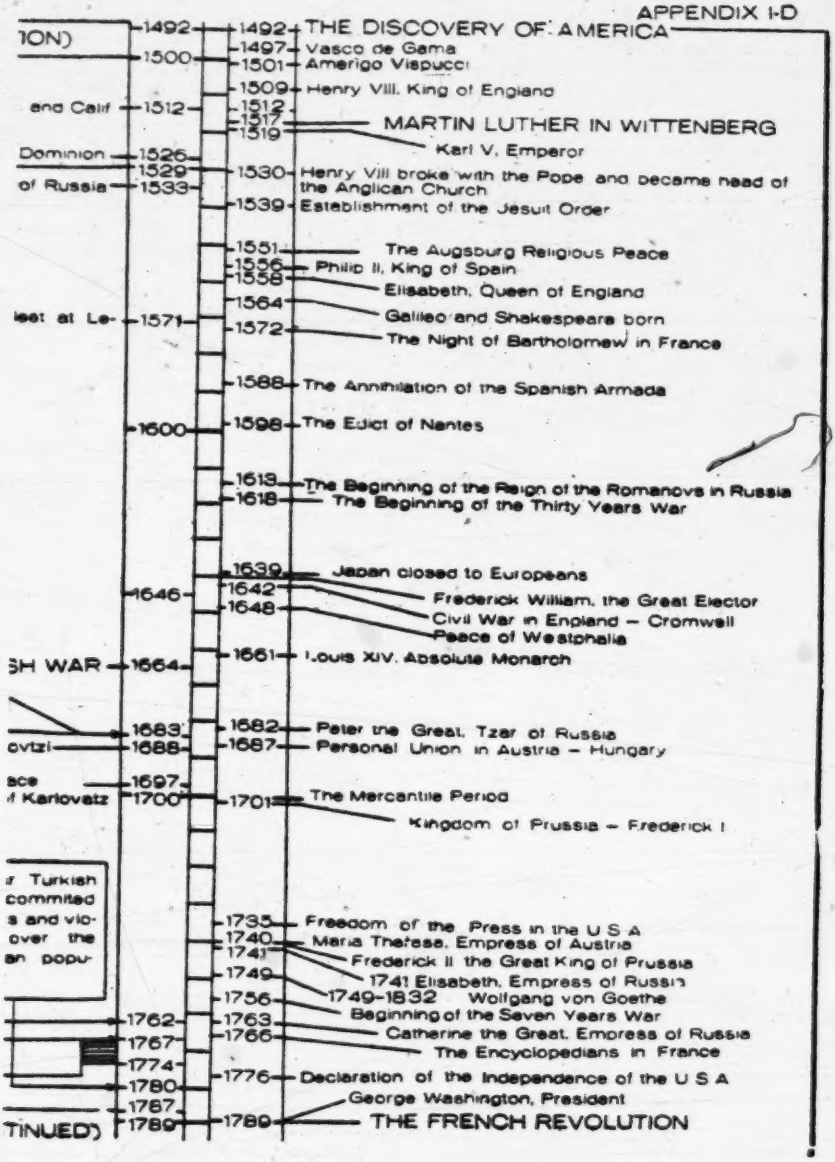
175

APPENDIX I-D


1492 THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA
1497 Vasco de Gama
1501 Amerigo Vispucci
1509 Henry VIII. King of England
1517 MARTIN LUTHER IN WITTENBERG
1519 Karl V. Emperor
1530 Henry VIII broke with the Pope and became head of the Anglican Church
1539 Establishment of the Jesuit Order
1551 The Augsburg Religious Peace
1556 Philip II, King of Spain
1558 Elisabeth, Queen of England
1564 Galileo and Shakespeare born
1572 The Night of Bartholomew in France
1588 The Annihilation of the Spanish Armada
1598 The Edict of Nantes
1613 The Beginning of the Reign of the Romanovs in Russia
1618 The Beginning of the Thirty Years War
1639 Japan closed to Europeans
1642 Frederick William, the Great Elector
1648 Civil War in England – Cromwell
Peace of Westphalia
1661 Louis XIV. Absolute Monarch
1682 Peter the Great, Tzar of Russia
1687 Personal Union in Austria – Hungary
1701 The Mercantile Period
Kingdom of Prussia – Frederick I
1735 Freedom of the Press in the U S A
1740 Maria Thetesa, Empress of Austria
1741 Frederick II the Great King of Prussia
1741 Elisabeth, Empress of Russia
1749–1832 Wolfgang von Goethe
1756 Beginning of the Seven Years War
1763 Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia
1766 The Encyclopedians in France
1776 Declaration of the Independence of the U S A
George Washington, President
1789 THE FRENCH REVOLUTION
1492
1500
1512
1526
1529
1533
1571
1600
1646
1664
1683
1688
1697
1700
1762
1767
1774
1780
1787
1789

108(B)

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175

BULGARIA—HISTORY (CONTINUA

485 YEARS UNDER TURKSH RULE

THE BULGARIAN PATRIARCHATE LIBRARY IN TIRNOVO WAS BURNT in 1828. About the same time all Bulgarian church and monastery libraries were destroyed.

SPIRITUAL SLAVERY: Having applied to the Greek Bishop for the opening of a Bulgarian school in Plovdiv, the Bishop answered the Bulgarian notables: „In view of the strict order which we have from our Patriarch to have a close watch over every effort on the part of the Bulgarians in opening schools, you will be exiled and your school closed. If you only care, then, for your own interest, you better desist from your undertaking"

The First Printed Bulg

Serbia gets

Greece gets

The First Bulgarian read

STRUGGLES FOR BUL(NATIONAL CHURCH

Occupation of Rumania by Rus

THE BULGARIANS REJECT THE GREEK CHURCH AND ESTABLISH THEIR NATIONAL CHURCH

Crim Unit

INSURRECTION AND CRES IN BULGARIA

Russo-Turkish War

Treaties of Peace of San Stephano and Berlin — only one part of BULGARIA IS LIBERATED

NORTH BULGARIA AND EASTERN RUMELIA REUNITED

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Bulgaria Kingdom

Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece defeated Turkey

War of Serbia and Greece against Bulgaria

First World War 1914—1918

Bulgaria enters the World War

Treaty of Peace of Neuilly

Treaty of Peace of Sèvres

Bulgaria enters the Second World War

September 9. — ANTIFASCIST REVOLUTION

Beging of 1

THIRD BULGARIAN KINGDOM

Prince ALEXANDER I — 1887

KING TZAR FERDINAND I — 1908 — 1887 – 1919 — 1919

TZAR BORIS III — 1943

TZAR SIMEON II

109(A)

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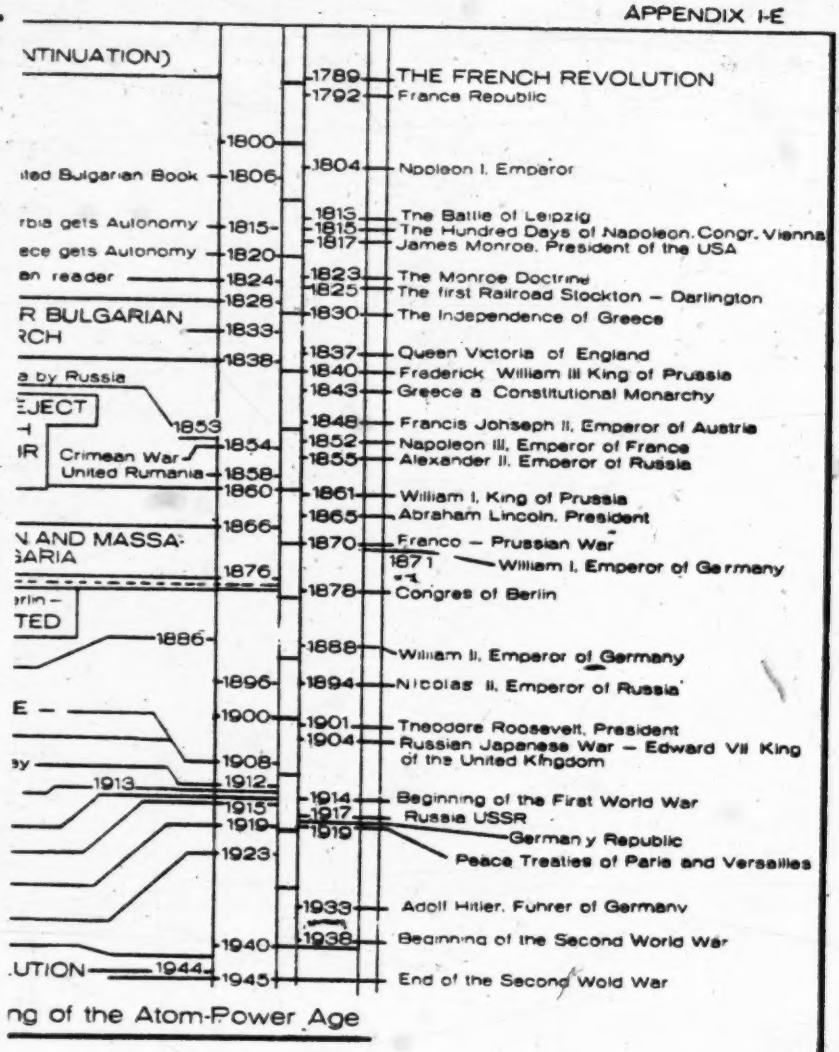
175

APPENDIX I-E



109(B)

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000 seek to read it and copy it and be thou content, that with it thou canst save thy brother."

These remarks of the Presbyter Kozma are striking and at the same time prophetic, since he predicted here the role which books would play in Bulgaria, just as he also foresaw that eight centuries later, his people would be awakened from the spiritual lethargy of five hundred years of the Turkish yoke, or as the Bulgarian poet Vazov said, "that there will be an end of history and they will become a nation", by the books of an inspired patriot. These books passed from hand to hand in manuscript copies to play in Bulgaria the role of the life-giving elixir which aroused the tsar's daughter from the magic sleep which an evil spirit had cast upon her.

175 814 The book which the Bulgarian regards as the corner-stone of his present liberty and which is reflected in all modern Bulgarian literature is the "History of the Slav Bulgarians" by Paisi of Hilendar, a monk of Mount Athos.

In the eighteenth century the Bulgarian people had lost nearly all national self-confidence as a result of the Turkish yoke and the propaganda of the Pan-Hellenic idea by the Greek clergy and they seemed on the point of disappearing. Then Paisi, as the first of a series of clerical and lay writers who supported the feeble study of Bulgarian letters under the Turkish yoke, felt the significance which a knowledge of the past might have for the continued existence of his people and the importance to them of an understanding of the bases of its national culture. In 1762 he commenced a manuscript "History" (there were then no printing presses in Bulgaria) to remind his contemporaries that despite the oppression and

the contempt of the Turks and Greeks, they did not need 175
to be ashamed of their own traditions. In the past the 814
Bulgarians had had their own empire and had received tribute from the wise Greeks and they had had the most progressive tsars and patriarchs of all the Slavonic peoples and they had been among the first peoples to accept the Christian faith, which they had later handed on with a rich literature to the other Slavs.

With its poetic inspiration and its ardent love for his [186]
country, the History of Paisi appeared as a torch to kindle the lowly and undeveloped national consciousness of Bulgaria. It set it ablaze and thus caused the surprising advance of the Bulgarian people. In one century ?n they turned from an amorphous mass to one of the strongest nationalities of the Balkans. They raised their level of culture, and developed their art, science and literature.

It goes without saying that the History of Paisi could 538
not have worked this miracle, if it had not found a fertile 814
soil in the souls of the Bulgarian people, and more than 186
that, if the soil had not been cultivated by a long series of enthusiastic imitators of Paisi. Between 1800 and 1850 these writers, without stopping, first in manuscripts and later in printed books, continued to arouse the national consciousness of the Bulgarians and to spread enlightenment in their native land. The aims of these men were purely practical. The definite object of Sofrony Vratchanski, of Neofit Bozveli, of Neofit Rilski in their works which are almost always of a didactic character, was to help their people, to educate them and to lead them on the path of proper development. Yet so strong and so inspired was the love that these men had for their

?n [i.e. the eighteenth century --- Analyst]

has Botev. It is Ivan Vazov who first carried the fame of Bulgarian literature beyond the boundaries of his native land and whose activity of 50 years from 1872 to 1921 witnessed the joys and hopes of young Bulgaria, its heroic struggles for national unification and the crushing failure of these hopes in 1918 and who was a sensitive echo of all the joys and sorrows of his country. 538 186

Ivan Vazov (1850-1921) is the first Bulgarian poet who gave expression to his patriotism not by direct public work— as did his predecessors— but exclusively by unceasing artistic production through which he strove to express all that he saw in his country: its nature, its people, and also the ideals towards which it should strive. Bulgaria in all its manifold aspects— that is the content of the literary work of Vazov, who sacrificed to his inspiration his personal life and all his other interests, so that he could offer it worthy service solemnly and convincingly.

The sacrifice which Vazov offered to his country was not in vain. There is no Bulgarian writer who so truly and accurately reflects his country as does Vazov. There is no Bulgarian writer like Vazov whose works demand the attention of every foreigner who would know Bulgaria.

For example, if a man is interested in the past of Bulgaria, let him turn to the historical dramas of Vazov on themes from the old Bulgarian Empire, or his "Legends of Tsarevets", which describe touchingly the struggles between Bulgaria and Byzantium. If he seeks the less distant past or the rebirth of Bulgaria, he has the splendid "Epic of the Heroes", in which he represents as in living marble the figures of Paisi, Rakovski, 175 538 186

538 Levski and the Brothers Milandinovi. If he wishes to
186 learn of the uprisings which were the indirect cause of
175 the liberation of Bulgaria and turned the attention of Western Europe to its fate, he can read the best novel of Vazov, "Under the Yoke" which has been translated into every culture-language and which describes with surprising artistry the life of a Balkan city before the liberation, the secret work of the group of rebels, the uprising which they prepare and which the Turks suppress with fire and sword. If he desires to understand the life of the newly liberated Bulgaria, he can find what he seeks in the novels of Vazov as "The New Land" and the "Empress Kazalar." If he would know how Bulgaria passed through the series of war which she waged, in which she conquered heroically without being able to reap any profit from her victories, he must turn again to Vazov and to his many collections of poetry, in which we find expression of all the pains of Bulgaria, all her hopes and disillusionments. Thus every one must turn to Vazov who wishes to know of Bulgaria with her landscape, her fields and mountains, the Balkans, Rila and Rhodope, the Danube and the Black Sea.

538 It is superfluous to list the works of Vazov, for this would be merely the listing of all the inner and outer characteristics of Bulgaria in a perfect mirror. It is better to say that their significance is to be found not only in the fact that they focus as in a lens everything that is important in Bulgarian life but that this is done artistically, with the aid of a talent which is gifted for both poetry and prose, and which produces its effects with great music of phrase, vividness of imagery, a

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

ECONOMIC HISTORY

The pre-war period

After the amputation inflicted on her by the Treaty of Berlin, it was natural for Bulgaria to devote from the moment of her emergence as a political entity most of her resources and energy to repairing the mutilations she had suffered. She thus diverted to this aim a large part of the vital strength she would under different circumstances have entirely consecrated to her cultural and economic advancement. And if, in spite of this incubus Bulgaria yet attained to such remarkable material development within the six decades of her independent existence it may be surmised with certainty that the progress achieved would have been a record one had she started on her career as a nation under more auspicious omens.

From the very start she was encouraged to spend an unduly large proportion of her resources on the organisation of her army by the Russian officials who supervised the setting up of her administration, and owing to the natural desire of the Bulgarian people to liberate their enslaved kinsmen, who had been thrust under foreign dominion by the bungling politicians at the Berlin Congress, it was extremely difficult to discourage expenditure on this head. This tendency was further encouraged by the armament firms which showed themselves always obsequious and ready to facilitate the securing of the necessary credits for financing the supply of war material and thereby helped to involve Bulgaria into an indebtedness beyond her capacity.

The Bulgarian State was further saddled with heavy obligations such as that of assuming a certain indebtedness towards Turkey in the form of an annual tribute and that of defraying the cost of the Russian military occupation. It was also forced to provide for the construction of those

ECONOMIC HISTORY

It is from 1885 onward that a study of statistics becomes informative and the rate of advance more easily traceable since it was at that date that the first step towards the partial realisation of the national unity was taken, namely the union of the principality of Bulgaria with the autonomous province of Eastern Rumelia. The territorial accretion thereby secured was maintained until the Balkan wars of 1912-3, so that it is retatively easy to follow the country's development from a study of the statistics provided after 1885 since no calculations have to be made to adjust numbers to territorial alterations. No such change occurred until the Balkan and World wars, when the area of Bulgaria was increased from 96,345.5 in 1912 to 111,836.8 square klm. in 1913, and finally reduced to 103,146.1 in 1919.

From the following statistical table of exports and imports one may form an opinion of the scantiness of Bulgaria's resourses, since with a few exceptions each year reveals an unfavourable trade balance and Bulgaria never possessed any investments abroad, nor rendered any services, from which she could derive any invisible income wherewith to balance the deficit of her commercial balance.[1] The abrupt increase in the figures cited after the quinquenial period 1916—1920 is due to the gradual depreciation of the leva, which from its equivalent of a gold franc prior to the world war was reduced to the level of only 0.03745 gold franc, or 139 leva to a gold dollar, at which rate it was stabilised in 1928.

[1] Before the war a certain number of market gardeners emigrated temporarily to neighbouring countries and remitted their savings home. It may also be presumed that the deficit in the commercial balance was not as large as indicated by official statistics for merchants were occasionally inclined to underestimate their exports in order to pay fewer dues as was revealed by Minister Burov in a speech in the Sobranye on April 1928. The income derived from foreign tourists is reckoned at 40 million leva a year.

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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457

YEARS	IMPORTS in million leva	EXPORTS in million leva	BALANCE in million leva
1885—1890	350	310	— 40
1891—1895	416	386	— 30
1896—1900	337	339	+ 2
1901—1905	474	597	+ 123
1906—1910	699	591	— 108
1911—1915	916	698	— 218
1916—1920	4,002	2,993	— 1009
1921—1925	24,924	22,628	— 4296
1926—1930	32,330	31,064	— 1266
1931	4,660	5,934	+ 1274
1932	3,471	3,383	— 88
1933	2,202	2,846	+ 644
1934	7,247	2,535	+ 88

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652

From the foregoing figures it becomes obvious that Bulgaria had to have recourse to foreign assistance in order to secure the necessary equipment of a modern State as it was unthinkable for her to raise the requisite capital locally. Tbe following loans were contracted prior to the Balkan wars, the proceeds being used for military equipment, for the construction of railways and ports or the financing of expenses incurred through a rather premature davelopment of the political organisation and occasionally through a not very judicious employment of public funds.

Year	Nominal Interest %	Duration of repayment in years	Nominal amount in million leva	Price of issue	Net amount in million leva	Real Interest %
1888	6	33	46,777	at par	46,777	6·
1889	6	33	30,000	86·03	25,650	7·5
1892	6	33	124,962	86·41	107,342	7·34
1902	5	50	106,000	78·32	87,367	6·72
1904	5	50	100,000	75·24	82,383	7·03
1907	4·5	60	145,000	79·91	123,250	5·94
1909	4·5	50	100,000	85·56	86,000	5·56
1909	4·5	75	82,000	at par	82,000	4·75
			734,739		640,769	

The 1888 loan was floated in London, its proceeds being entirely devoted to the purchase of the Rustchuk-

7/1 [Errata: should be 2247] — Analyst]

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

ECONOMIC HISTORY

Varna railway line built in 1860 by an English company to which the Turkish government had guaranteed a revenue of 7%, a charge the Bulgarian government considered unduly heavy and out of proportion with the net income derived from the exploitation of the railway.[1]

The proceeds of the 1889 loan were used for the construction of the Tsaribrod—Sofia—Vakarel, and that of the Yambol—Burgas railway lines. The loan was floated in Vienna as the obligation to construct these lines had been imposed by Austria-Hungary at the Congress of Berlin. A mortgage on these railways secured the loan. The subsequent loan was also contracted in Vienna and served to reorganise the army and to construct the Kaspitchan—Sofia railway line and the building of the two ports of Varna and Burgas. A mortgage on both ports and the railway being taken as security for the loan.

The 1902 loan was the first of a series concluded in France, for Bulgaria having in the meanwhile adopted a distinctly pro-Russian attitude, the Paris money market was opened to her at the intercession of Russia, France's

[1] The capital of the company which constructed this line was represented by 45,000 shares of £ 20 each, or a total of £ 900,000 or 22,500,000 gold francs, and these shares were never quoted above ¹/₄ of their nominal value. A commission of Bulgarian engineers presided over by the late Serbian Premier, N. Passitch, at the time in the employ of Bulgaria in his capacity of an engineer, had evaluated the line as worth 18,575,000 gold francs, which was a fair estimate, yet the Bulgarian Premier, Stambulov, was prevailed upon to pay more than double this sum. This transaction was strongly resented in Bulgaria, but owing to the censorship little was said about it in the Press at the time; and there were good reasons for such resentment, for Bulgaria had been mulcted out of a considerable sum merely in order to placate certain financial circles as likely to influence British political support at a time Bulgaria was traversing a critical period. A very unfortunate precedent being thus created which has since caused havoc in Bulgarian finances.

ally. The proceeds of this loan served to make good the budget deficits of the period 1895-1900 amounting to 53 million leva and mainly due to a period of bad crops, to pay off the sum of 17,390,664 to the Turkish and Russian governments, due according to the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin, to pay for 2,687,515 leva worth of armaments, and reimburse certain advances made to the Bulgarian government by the Bulgarian State. Bank. This was the first loan to which a special revenue was assigned as a guarantee and a special controller delegated to Sofia on behalf of the bondholders to supervise the sale of the special revenue stamps affected to the tobacco tax.

In 1904 yet another loan was floated in France to which the surplus of the tobacco tax and the proceeds of revenue stamps were assigned as pledges. Owing to the revolution of 1903 in Macedonia, field artillery of the value of some 25 million leva had been purchased from the French firm of Creusot and other military expenses had been incurred and had to be frayed, the balance of the loan was used for the construction of the railway lines Tirnovo — Trevna, and Sofia — Kustendil. Military expenditure was steadily increasing and proving an intolerable burden to the State, yet owing to the anarchic situation in Macedonia and the prevalent belief that Bulgaria was in duty bound to interfere some day on behalf of her unredeemed kinsmen in Turkey, the Bulgarian people assumed stolidly the financial burdens imposed on them. Thus during the two years 1904 and 1905 some 55 million leva were expended solely on armaments, a sum exceeding half of the budget figures of these years.

It must be admitted that the French armament firms which had found an excellent client in Bulgaria must have largely contributed in persuading French Banks as to the advisability of financing the loans made to Bulgaria, which were being gradually floated at shorter and shorter intervals.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

In 1907, a further loan was issued in Paris out of which sums of 20,935,000 and 31,584,500 leva were earmarked for the conversion of the 1888 and 1889 loans. The 1907 loan having been issued on a 4·5% basis it was thought that a considerable economy would be effected by reimbursing the first two loans bearing 6% interest. Unfortunately, owing to the fact that the bonds were quoted above par, the Bulgarian treasury incurred instead a loss of some 21·5 million leva in carrying through this operation The balance of the loan was employed, to the extent of 32 millions for the buying of war material, while another 32 millions were allotted to the construction of railways and some four millions devoted to the settlement of a floating debt. The same pledges which had been assigned to the 1902 and 1904 loans were also affected to the service of this loan as the revenues from these sources were quite adequate. Thus the revenues from the tobacco tax and 'mourouriye' yielded 17,677,000 in 1909 and 18,183,000 leva in 1911, while the yield from the revenue stamps amounted to 6,088,000 and 6,638,000 leva respectively, the service of the three loans necessitating in 1909 the sum of only 18,265,000 leva, thus leaving a surplus of some 5 millions at the disposal of the Exchequer.

The elevation of Bulgaria to the rank of a Kingdom in 1908, and the attending political complications which rendered the mobilisation of the army indispensable had caused a heavy drain to the treasury, and in 1909 another loan was contracted, the proceeds of which were entirely absorbed in reimbursing the State's debts to contractors and to the National and Agrarian Banks, a sum of over 58 millions being due to these two State institutions. This loan was floated in Vienna, and no real guarantees demanded by the Austrian banks, a fact which may be explained by the desire of Austria to express her satis-

faction at the way Bulgaria had arranged for her proclamation of independence to precede Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. Simultaneously Bulgaria assumed a liability of 82 millions to Russia, the latter having undertaken to indemnify Turkey on Bulgaria's refusal to continue the payment of her tribute after her proclamation of independence and provided the requisite money (some 42 million leva) wherewith the railways constructed and operated in Southern Bulgaria by the nominally Turkish company of the Chemins de Fer Orientaux were purchased by the Bulgarian government.

By the end of 1911 Bulgaria had a consolidated debt of 603,799,618 and a floating debt of 29,493,524 gold leva which with a population of 4,390,325 represented a per capita charge of 144·25 leva. From the proceeds of the foreign loans some 283,058,566 leva had been employed for the construction or purchase of railways of a total milage of 1,931 klm. and in the building of the ports of Varna and Burgas, 102,670,856 leva had been employed for the purchase of military equipment and the balance was absorbed by budgetary deficits, the liquidation of the tribute payable to Turkey (over 40 millions), and other administrative expenses. It should be remembered that the latter item included the building of schools, the constructions of roads, bridges, telegraph and telephone lines, barracks, government buildings etc. all of which were almost totally lacking, so that on the whole, few of the successive Bulgarian governments can be accused of having unduly wasted public money. The national wealth had been estimated in 1911 by the late Cyril Popov at 10,500 millions and the national revenue at 1,647 millions, equal to 387 gold leva per capita, which could only provide for a very low standard of living, since yet another 20% had to be provided out of it for the defraying of public and municipal taxation.

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

ECONOMIC HISTORY

The State budgets were approaching the 200 million figure, but were not always balanced. Thus in 1910 and 1911 the revenue figures stood respectively at 181 and 198 millions while expenditure attained 198 and 181, leaving alternatively for each year a deficit and a surplus of 17 millions. The service of the debt required slightly over 36 millions and absorbed 18% to 20% of the annual revenue of the State, while military expenditure required about 44 millions. Unfortunately the trade balance wherewith the service of the foreign debt had to be provided continued to show an excess of imports over exports, the years 1910 and 1911 showing respectively debit balances of 48 and 15 millions, and this state of affairs forced Bulgaria, so long as she was unable to expand her exports to continue borrowing in order to meet her monetary obligations abroad and to pay for the excess of her imports, which were indispensable for her development and the sustainance or her people.

So that even prior to the Balkan wars, when Bulgaria was considered powerful and flourishing and her financial situation inspired confidence she was in fact a very poor country living beyond her means and only able to meet her foreign obligations by indulging in a policy of borrowing abroad which was reckless, but which was indulged in for patriotic motives, because it was hoped that when finally Macedonia would have been incorporated, the increased revenue the State would thereby derive would permit the shouldering of the indebtedness incurred mainly in preparing for this territorial expansion. Bulgaria's reputation of a good payer was due to the scrupulous exactitude with which both private and public debts were being met and the extreme sobriety and parsimoniousness of her people which had enabled them to build up a complete machinery of State not only by borrowing but also out of their hard-earned and slender incomes.

BULGARIA-PAST & PRESENT

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The frugality and thriftiness of the Bulgarian people stood them im good stead for it was thanks to these qualities that they were able to assume practically unaided the financing of the Balkan wars. The 1912 and 1913 budgets closed with deficits of 140 and 181 millions, owing to the falling off of the revenue and the increased military expenditure and were met partly by the expedient of discounting treasury bills abroad namely 75 millions with the Banque de Paris and des Pays Bas, 30 millions with Austrian Banks and 27·7 millions with the Russo-Asiatic Bank, and partly by advances from the National State Bank which attained 142.9 millions by the end of 1913.

Naturally the unfortunate outcome of the Balkan wars found Bulgaria utterly exhausted and in urgent need of funds. An internal loan of 90 millions was inadequate to relieve the pressure on the treasury and as the budget of 1914 was pointing to a deficit of 68 millions, the government was constrained to seek foreign help at all costs. Owing to the pro-Austrian proclivities of the Radoslavov government, the French Banks demanded as a preliminary condition to their granting a loan, that Bulgaria should furnish assurances that she would no longer pursue an anti-Russian policy. Unfortunately these were not forthcoming. On the contrary the Bulgarian government opened negotiations with a group of German and Austrian banks, headed by the Diskonto Gesellschaft, in spite of the violent obstruction of the Opposition and raised a loan from this German banking group. Though the members of the Radoslavov Cabinet have always denied that any political clauses were attached to the loan, this may be considered as forming the preamble to Bulgaria's engagement to the Central Powers, for the Germans have on many occasions declared that the question of Bulgaria's allegiance had been definitely fixed on the conclusion of this loan. The loan was of a nominal amount of 500

million leva. The conditions attached to it were distinctly onerous for they included the cession of the Pernik coal mines belonging to the State, a concession for the construction of a railway line Rakovski—Porto Lagos and the building of its harbour, while specific revenues were affected to it as a guarantee, namely the surplus of the tobacco tax and revenue stamps over the share already affected to the 1902, 1904 and 1907 loans, the proceeds of the State monopoly of cigarette paper and the proceeds of the revenue from the customs. Owing to the outbreak of tne World war the German banks advanced only some 270 millions and though it had been stipulated that the Bulgarian Treasury bonds emitted during the Balkan wars would be reimbursed, only those held by the Austrian banks were paid while the German government placed an embargo on the 27·7 millions due to the Russo-Asiatic bank.

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How Bulgaria financed her participation in the World war.

The cost of Bulgaria's participation in the World war was borne practically unaided, for except for a part of the loan issued by the Diskonto Gesellschaft no other effective aid was received. A convention was signed in September 1915 between Germany and Bulgaria, providing for the granting to the latter of an advances of 50 million leva during each of the four months the war was expected to last, and stipulating for complementary advance should the war last longer. Germany continued to extend these credits only to the end of 1917, so that the total amount secured by Bulgaria on this head attained 1350 million leva. But in fact, not a single penny ever reached Bulgaria, for these monthly advances were deposited in a Berlin bank to the credit of the Bulgarian National Bank which was authorised to issue a corresponding amount

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

175 457 652

of paper money which it placed at the disposal of the Bulgarian government. These deposits were to be utilised solely for this purpose, and also for the payment of goods purchased in Germany and with the consent ot the German authorities; but as during the war Germany had little to export, the amount of merchandise thus purchased did not exceed 350 million leva. The balance of about 1,000 millions which had served as cover to the increased fiduciary circulation of the Bulgarian National Bank owing to its being labelled in marks was totally lost to Bulgaria when the mark depreciated after the armictice. The National Bank of Bulgaria attempted to transfer part of this sum to Switzerland, but was precluded from doing so by the initial arrangements entered into by the two governments and subsequently by Article 145 of the Treaty of Neuilly which obliged Bulgaria to transfer to the Reparation Commission any claims she might have to payments or reparations by her late Allies. Besides these monthly credits, munitions and military equipment to the value of 1440 million leva were received from Germany and of 73,398,500 from Austria. Against these sums the Bulgarian government had a larger counterclaim amounting to 2,148,814,923 leva, several items of which represented more tangible value than the nominal monthly German advances, for they represented foodstuffs, raw materials and 240 millions in Bulgarian currency delivered to the German military authorities. It may be affirmed that the only financial service rendered by Germany was that of enabling the Bulgarian National Bank to increase its fiduciary circulation from 369,791,000 leva at the end of 1915 to 2,298,617,000 at the end of 1918, and this was obviously of a very questionable value for in the end owing to the total depreciation of the mark it was the Bulgarian people who had to shoulder the entire loss caused by this inflation. As M. Stefanov the Minister of Finance,

declared in the Sobranye on May 10, 1932: „Bulgaria was the sole country to conclude the war with so few debts, for she only received 270 millions from the Diskonto Gesellschaft, while she remained a creditor to the extent of 840 millions to Germany." This statement may be compared to the one M. Stefanov made on July 10, 1928, when he maintained that Bulgaria had lived during the world war on her own resources, but had been exploited and robbed by her allies, the latter owing her at the end of the war, 860 million leva.

The budgets for the four years 1915 to 1918, closed with a total deficit of 2,270 millions due in the main to increased military expenditure. This outlay was met by the expedient of increasing the fiduciary circulation and by advances to the State from the National Bank. At the end of 1918 the metallic cover of the bank still amounted to 64 millions in gold and to 19 millions in silver, but as the country's food supply had been utterly exhausted, flour to the value of 27·25 million gold leva in cash had to be purchased in 1919 from the United States and this drain on the gold reserve coupled with the fact that the balances abroad (mainly in Germany) on which the fiduciary circulation was secured had been rendered worthless through the depreciation of the mark, brought about a rapid fall in the value of the leva; and this was further accentuated as the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly became known. Thus the leva fell from 0.19 gold franc, at which level it was quoted at the end of 1919, to 0·07 at the end of 1920, and to 0.036 at the end of 1921.

Part of the military expenditure incurred during the world war was met out of the post-war budgets, so that it is difficult to assess it correctly, but roughly it may be said to be represented by the budgetary deficits of the years 1915-1921, amounting to 5,706 million leva, to which should be added the amounts of the two internal loans

raised in 1914 and 1921, of 83, and 157 million leva respectively, as well as that of the 270 millions advanced by the Diskonto Gesellschaft, which would bring the total military expenditure up to 6216 million leva, of varying value, however, since the leva had depreciated from the intrinsic equivalent of a gold franc in 1914 to as little as 0.036 gold franc in 1921. These 6216 millions were financed by the expedients of increasing the fiduciary circulation which from 226,615,000 leva at the end of 1914 rose to the record figure of 4,622,833,000 on Nov. 30, 1924, and by the advances of the National Bank which at the end of the financial year 1921-1922 amounted to 4,206 million leva.

This estimate is for military expenditure incurred by the State during the World war, and it is permissible to presume that even parts of the budgetary deficits of the years 1921 to 1923 represented expenditure on this head. It takes no account of the losses inflicted on the community at large, or of the war pensions the State had to serve subsequently to the disabled and their dependents. The number of killed was according to a statement made by the Minister of War in the Sobranye on Nov. 22, 1927, 53,825 during the Balkan wars and 115,048 during the World war.

In 1929 there were 98,000 persons receiving pensions as war invalids or as dependents of such, and the amount of the annual charge this constituted to the budget was 372 million leva, or less than a paltry £6 a year per person at the then prevailing rate of exchange. This was all a grateful country could afford to pay to those of her sons who had been disabled in defending her. When such heroic sacrifices are so poorly requited, it is not surprising that its citizens' devotion towards it should perceptively cool and that they should turn for consolation to such subversive doctrines as Communism, which holds out the promise of greater justice and equity.

ECONOMIC HISTORY

According to the latest data, the number of war invalids receiving pensions on April 1, 1934, were 13,014 for a sum of 83,278,502 leva annually, and those of widows and dependents of soldiers killed during the wars 67,763, necessitating another annual outlay of 204,340,386 leva. In spite of the economic straits the Bulgarian exchequer is in, it has yet been found possible to make grants to 77 aged Russian veterans who had participated in the war of liberation of 1878, and who owing to the Bolshevik revolution have sought refuge in Bulgaria. The latter in spite of her difficulties is still harbouring some 19,000 émigrés and providing largely out of her slender means for their upkeep, a fact which inflicts a formal disavowal to the slanderous charges brought against Bulgaria as to her alleged ingratitude towards Russia.

The Financial burdens of the Treaty of Neuilly.

The amount of the indemnity imposed on Bulgaria and euphemistically termed 'reparations' was fixed according to Article 121 of the Treaty of Neuilly at 2250 million gold francs and decreed payable within 37 years and to bear 5% interest. Article 132 of the said Treaty decreed that the costs of reparations would constitute a first charge on all the assets and revenues of Bulgaria. Article 133 bound Bulgaria to defray the total cost of the Allied armies in occupation of Bulgarian territory until the coming into force of the Treaty, this cost being finally assessed at 25 million gold francs. Article 137 constrained Bulgaria to assume a part of the Ottoman debt, a matter which has not yet been fixed. Another article, 177, provided for the indemnification of the material damage suffered by Allied subjects through Bulgaria's action in the war out of the property of Bulgarian subjects seized in Allied countries. The amount awarded as demages by Arbitral Courts

• 175 728 specially constituted for the purpose amounted to £ 581,317 for British subjects and to 52,269,771 French francs plus £ 109,210 to French subjects, and smaller sums to Belgian, Italian and Greek subjects.

Articles 125 to 128 ordained other payments in kind which could more aptly figure as reparations than the 2250 million indemnity imposed on Bulgaria, and which amply sufficed to repair whatever damage the Bulgarians might have caused in the territories they had invaded as the writer pointed out in the *"New Europe"* of July 29, 1920 in the following terms:

"Bulgaria is asked to make reparations for damage, and these are assessed at a figure far exceeding the destruction the Bulgarians might have wrought in the Morava and the Dobrudja. The total value of these regions does not surpass 5,000 million francs, of which land figures for 70 per cent and buildings, cattle, etc. for the balance.

It is obvious that the Bulgarians could not have carried off the land, and it may be taken for granted that the damage inflicted on property is infinitesimal, and represents only a fraction of its total value.

On what grounds then is Bulgaria asked to pay 2¼ milliards as "reparation". The demand for such an indemnity is all the more unjust since the Treaty stipulated for the delivery by Bulgaria of a determined number of live-stock. It is contended that this quantity of cattle represents what the Bulgarians appropriated while in occupation of the regions they invaded. If this were so, it would be just to insist on the execution of this clause; the number demanded from the Bulgarians, however, exceeds all reasonable estimate of the losses in cattle which our Balkan Allies might have incurred. Amongst other things Article 127 provides for the delivery by Bulgaria of 1,000 mules to Serbia, when, according to Serbian official statistics, the total number of these useful animals in the whole of Serbia was only 349 in the year 1910! This example will serve to show that "reparation" is not the appropriate term for our demands on Bulgaria, the latter obviously aim at securing more than what the former designation implies. The Treaty also imposes on Bulgaria an annual delivery of 50,000 tons of coal to Serbia by way of compensation for the destruction of Serbian coal-mines by the Bulgarians. This is an unwarranted and unjustifiable decision, not only because all mines in Serbia were

exclusively worked for and by the Germans, but also because Bulgaria does not produce sufficient coal for her own requirements. Before the war she used to import coal not only from England, but also from Serbia, and this consideration alone ought to have prevented the formulation of demands that clearly seek to cripple the economic organism of a former enemy State.

175 728

The punishment already meted out to Bulgaria has been sufficiently severe, as have been the sufferings and losses which the war has inflicted on her population. Our object, therefore, should not be to increase the disadvantages under which Bulgarians toil, nor to force them to slave for others, for this is certainly not Bulgaria's mission in the world. If we wish her to make her distinctive contribution to civilisation, we should rather lend a helping hand to her people, and assist them out of their present difficulties. The laboriousness, sobriety and honesty of the average Bulgarian are virtues which commend themselves to all, and if they could only be made to realise that in the subordination of self to common interests lies the secret of a nation's greatness, then nothing could prevent them from becoming one of the foremost factors in the moral and economic renovation of the Near East."

Article 177 of the Treaty permitted Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia to formulate certain complementary demands for indemnification. An utterly unjustified proceeding in view of the fact that Article 121 had settled the total amount of indemnity to be imposed on Bulgaria. Though the Hague International Tribunal to which the claim of Greece had been referred to had decided on Sept. 24, 1924 in this sense, yet the Bulgarian government decided to meet the Yugoslav and Rumanian claims owing to political reasons and to its fear of a Yugoslav military intervention at the time of the Communist revolt which took place in Bulgaria during September 1923. Thus Bulgaria assumed further liabilities towards Yugoslavia and Rumania amounting to 320 million leva and 110 million lei.

The imposition on Bulgaria of the obligation to defray the cost of the Allied armies of ocupation was equally unmerited and contrary to the spirit of the

175
728

armistice concluded at Salonica on Sept. 29, 1918, since the latter stipulated that Bulgaria was not to be treated as an occupied territory and only provided for the temporary occupation of certain strategical points. In fact the headquarters of the Allied armies only notified the Bulgarian government that they would occupy the port of Varna on March 16, 1919 and its occupation was maintained for a very brief time. The secret annex to the Salonica armistice provided that Bulgaria should be treated as a benevolent neutral, and it even stipulated for the co-operation of the Allied armies with part of the Bulgarian troops under certain eventualities. Had it been possible to resort to arbitration it is more that probable that Bulgaria would have been dispensed from payment on this head. At any rate those in charge of the Allied troops in Bulgaria were perfectly aware that they were not entitled to treat Bulgaria as an occupied country, for if during the three or four days following on their arrival in Bulgaria they affixed at the barracks they occupied a sign-post bearing the inscription "Headquarters of the troops occupying Bulgaria" on the representations of the Bulgarian government they immediately altered the title to "Headquarters of the Allied troops in Bulgaria".

The only sensible provision in the Treaty was article 122 which provided for the Inter-Allied Commission to reconsider from time to time the resources and paying capacity of Bulgaria and empowered it to recommend either a reduction or a postponement in the payment of the sums due by Bulgaria.

It was very unfortunate for Bulgaria that she did not have a strong and popular government capable of defending her interests, and ready to resign in sign of protest whenever she was being bludgeoned and coerced into paying on acount of reparations sums which were crippling her national economy and checking her develop-

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

ment. Had her rights been entrusted to more stalwart defenders she would have certainiy met with as lenient a treatment as that meted out to Austria and Hungary, but unhappily her rulers' first thought was how to maintain themselves in office and avoid all source of conflict which might jeopardize their posts. This selfish consideration made them always bow meekly before such dictates as were issued by the International Reparation Commission whose sole consideration was to squeeze as much as possible out of Bulgaria. It is not to be wondered that the late Count Apponyi, that untiring champion of Hungarian rights, should have shown his aversion for such servile meekness, by remarking to an occasional Bulgarian delegate at Geneva, a fact which Prof. Gheorgov, a former rector of the Sofia University communicated to the Bulgarian Press: "I am at a loss to understand why your delegates keep silent when such important questions relative to your country are being discussed at the assembly of the League of Nations?"

According to articles 124, 136, 142 and 145 of the above mentioned Treaty, Bulgaria was to be credited with certain sums as against the 2,250 million gold francs of reparations imposed on her. These amounts were computed in a pamphlet issued by the Bulgarian Commissariat of Reparations on Feb. 2, 1923 as totalling 3,857,548,624 gold francs and classified under the following heads:

Relative to Article 124	1,088,957,132
" " " 136	266,274,479
" " " 136	65,635,727
" " " 142	275,473,910
" " " 145	2,148,814,923
Maintenance of the Inter-Allied Commission	3,510,753
Indemnities paid to Allied subjects in territories occupied by Bulgaria	8,881,700

Besides the above, war material of a value of 633,211,117 gold francs had also been handed over to the Allies.

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

Though certain items referring to Art. 124 and 145 are disputable, it seems that the Bulgarian government had some ground to insist upon its claims being taken into consideration, yet all the delegates of the Allied Powers did when the protocol of March 21, 1923 which settled the mode of payment of reparations was signed, was to divide into two parts „A" and „B" the total sum of 2,500 million gold francs claimed from Bulgaria, decreeing that 550 millions bearing 5% interest, labelled „A" share should be payable in 60 annuities, the first of which was fixed at 5 millions and was to increase gradually to 43,396,336 in 1934 and continue at that rate until 1983, while the remainder, amounting to 1,700 millions would stand over until 1953 without interest when such sums as Bulgaria had a right to claim would be deducted from it, though the Bulgarian counterclaims largely exceeded this figure.

Apparently little consideration was paid to Bulgaria's condition, to her having been amputated of her wealthiest provinces, to the utter exhaustion of the resources of the peasantry which had bravely shouldered single-handed the whole burden of the world war, and beguiled by the transient prosperity of a section of the population engaged in the cultivation and trade of tobacco which prospered exceedingly during the years 1919 to 1923, owing to the elimination from the European markets of Greece and Turkey as producers of Oriental tobacco, while engaged in fighting each other, and which trade is reckoned to have brought an inflow of some 4,000 to 4,500 million leva to Bulgaria during this period, the delegates of the Allied governments proceeded to bleed Bulgaria white.

Indispensable public services such as education and hygiene[1] were ruthlessly curtailed, the upkeep of railways

[1] The rate of mortality from tuberculosis in 1928 was 30.53 per 10,000 in Bulgaria as against only 8.28 in Great Britain.

11: Logic S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria EE1

and highways was completely neglected, nothing was done to reorganise agriculture and thereby permit the peasantry to recuperate after the exhaustion caused by the war, all this in order to economise on the budget and provide for payments to Bulgaria's insatiable creditors.

The callousness and cynicism with which the Allied Powers, great and small, treated Bulgaria at this time is simply revolting and is best illustrated by the manner in which the Des Closières affair was liquidated. Among the documents published by the Bolsheviki were the minutes of the Russian Ministerial Council which revealed that on July 30, 1915 the question of finding 200 million francs wherewith to buy up Bulgarian cereals and at the same time to suborn Bulgarian politicians came up for discussion. Sazonov refused to besmirch his hands in this unclean affair and he left the management to England and France who provided 175 millions necessary for financing this operation, Russia supplying the balance of 25 millions. Several Bulgarian politicians were involved, and the irony of fate decreed that instead of serving the Entente's interests they should have unwillingly helped to consolidate the position of the tottering Radoslavov Cabinet. At the end of the war, the British and French governments demanded the restitution of all sums advanced by their agent, Des Closières, in Bulgaria, not only for the moneys supplied by the latter to various politicians for the purchase of cereals which had been ultimately confiscated by the Bulgarian government, but also for all the sums spent clearly on bribery and which figured in the claim lodged against the Bulgarian government as money spent „on propaganda and publicity". It is doubtful whether one can find another example of such brazen cynicism in inter-State relations and one marvels at the shamelessness of both British and French officials who had the impudence not only to avow that they had bribed, but that they

should go to the length of demanding the reimbursement of the bribes from the very State the citizens of which they had attempted to corrupt. It is fortunate that the Arbitral Court before which these monstrous demands were formulated adjudged that the only part of the claim which was valid was that relative to the stocks of grain confiscated by the Bulgarian government and for which it was condemned to reimburse £164,264 plus 10,854,854 French francs, though as deputy G. Yurtov had declared in the Sobranye on Feb. 22, 1927, of the 200 millions francs of Entente money spent, only 18 or 20 millions had been used to buy cereals and the balance had been employed in bribing politicians.

The controversy which arose between the Greek politicians Venizelos and Cafandaris over the Greek Stabilisation Loan likewise casts a lurid light on the incentives which actuated Entente politicians when they heaped on Bulgaria the staggering burden of indemnities under which she has collapsed. At a speech Venizelos delivered at Salonica in the summer of 1932, he blamed Cafandaris for allowing himself to be cajoled by the French government into a remission of its war debt to Greece, amounting to 408 million gold francs, in order to secure French support for the flotation of this loan, after Venizelos had arranged in collusion with the French to lump the sum in question into the reparations claimed from Bulgaria! Obviously any stick was good enough to beat luckless Bulgaria with.

The present writer attempted several times from the columns of the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Near East* to point out that this policy of extortion and coercion which was being applied to Bulgaria was threatening to undermine her social structure, that its inevitable consequence would be the pauperisation of Bulgaria, since the country's financial capacity had never been taken into

175 proper consideration, but unfortunately his efforts proved 128 unavailing. The country, in fact, even before the war, was only able to pay her way by cumulating its foreign indebtedness, it would therefore hardly be expected that after being shorn of its most fertile regions and ruined by the war, the burden of which it had borne single-handed, Bulgaria would be able to meet unaided the problem of her pressing economic re-organisation and at the same time provide for the payment of the crushing indemnities imposed on her.

No wonder that M. Stambuliiski and his peasant colleagues perceiving that the Allied Powers were intent on draining every particle of moveable wealth out of Bulgaria, threw all restraint to the winds, and set themselves to embezzle and appropriate whatever public money they could lay hands on. Quinet's judicious pronouncement: „Otez à une terre toute chance d'avenir, elle enfante d'elle même la barbarie comme les ronces" was thus fully confirmed, for if a feeling of despair had not been instilled in the Bulgarian people by the pitiless and grasping policy of the Allied commissaries, the Agrarian party while it was in office would not have lost all sense of measure and thus hastened by its insensate policy the ruin which loomed large on the country's horizon.

The purblindness of the financial experts who had imposed the colossal burden of reparations became evident a few years later, when Bulgaria in spite of the financial assistance she received in the form of the two loans advanced to her under the auspices of the League of Nations felt unable to continue the payment of the reparation annuities.

By the end of 1929 Bulgaria had paid in annual instalments 41 million gold francs on this head, while the interest on the capital sum of the "A" share of reparations (550 millions) amounted to 125,984,233. So that she

found herself in the invidious position of seeing her indebtedness grow in spite of the disbursements she was making, the capital sum of 550 millions having accrued to 634,984,233 gold francs by the end of 1929.

The absurdity of the position became so manifest that when the Young plan for Germany came up for discussion it was decided to revise the commitments imposed on Bulgaria, and on Jan. 20, 1930 a protocol was signed at the Hague by which Bulgaria was relieved of the "B" part of the reparations, namely 1700 million gold francs payable after 1953. This was a dubious gain, for Bulgaria likewise was forced to renounce her counter-claims, which an unbiassed arbitrator would have probably found to exceed this sum. Part "A" of the reparations was somewhat reduced and its mode of payment adjusted as follows:

1	annuity payable on	April 1930 of 5,000,000 gold francs.
10	annuities payable between	April 1, 1930 and March 31, 1940 each of 10,000,000 gold francs.
10	" " "	1, 1940 and March 31, 1950 each of 11,500,000 gold francs.
16	" " "	1, 1950 and March 31, 1966 each of 12,515,238 gold francs.

Bulgaria then agreed to pay these annuities unconditionally and renounced the right Art. 122 of the Treaty of Neuilly conferred on her, namely to invoke an inquiry into her capacity of payment. The transfer guarantee, however, established in connection with the League of Nations' loans was maintained and this was enough to nullify the promise Bulgaria assumed owing to her manifest inability to balance her international income and outgo.

Great Britain, France and Italy also "magnanimously" waived their claim to the balance due to them for the costs of their armies of occupation amounting still to 11,976,633 gold francs, for 'là où il n'y a rien le roi perd

11: Logio S-4 (no date) 1936 EE1 Bulgaria E21

ses droits". The disinterestedness of these Great Powers became even better manifest when they abandoned the quota parts of the problematical Bulgarian reparation which accrued to them to their minor allies, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia, who being on the spot would better dragoon and coerce Bulgaria into payment by „Balkan" methods the Great Powers would not dare indulge in. Obviously a most hopeful way of promoting goodwill and reconciliation among the Balkan States and to which may be traced the strained relations between Greece and Bulgaria and the tariff war the former has been waging against Bulgarian products.

The average sum of the reparation annuities which Bulgaria assumed to pay by the Hague arrangement was 11.2 million gold francs. This would have been a reasonable charge if Bulgaria possessed an excess of imports over exports which would have provided sufficient foreign exchange to meet this liability. For the payment of indebtedness requires that the net income of a State from its international trade and service operations should be equal to these outlays. Such, however, was not the case with Bulgaria for the available amount of foreign currency secured by its international income did not even suffice to defray the amortizations of her foreign loans, the payment of reparations was therefore suspended in accordance with the transfer guarantee assumed by the Reparation Commission towards the bondholders of the League of Nations' loans. But the latter did not benefit for long from this illusory guarantee, for Bulgaria bled white and exhausted by the senseless financial policy of some of her governments has practically been unable to meet even the annual charges of these loans as is related in detail in the next chapter.

144 structure Bulgarians of different regions show great, even striking difference".

141 The author presents the results of his observations in Macedonia which show a very great variety in measurements as have been ascertained among the 491 cases which form the basis of his data. Natives of Western Macedonia are according to him distinctly brachycephalic, and differ considerably from those of Eastern Macedonia among whom the dolichocephalic predominate as may be seen form the appended table:

Dolichocephalic Index: 68·3 to 75		Mesocephalic 75·1—80		Brachycephalic 80·1—85		Huperbrachycephalic 85·1—98·1	
Western Macedonia	Eastern Macedonia	W.M.	E.M.	W.M.	E.M.	W.M.	E.M.
Cases		Cases		Cases		Cases	
3	37	15	126	79	75	146	10

It is worth comparing these figures with those of A. C. Hadon, ("The races of man") who states that the cephalic index of the Bulgarians varies from 78 on the coast to 85 in the west, and gives as their average stature 1·69 m.

144 175 These views ars confirmed by Prof. A. Ishirkov, who in his "Etude historicoethnographique sur la population du royaume de Bulgarie", remarks that there is no distinctive Bulgarian type and that the people are extremely differentiated. In his survey, he refers to some of the racial elements which have served to build up the Bulgarian people. Thracians, Greek settlers on the Black Sea coast and banks of the Danube, Persians who invaded and occupied Thrace as far as the Struma in 513 B. C., Scythians and the Ghettae, Macedonians, who under Lysimachus occupied all Danubian Bulgaria and the Dobrudja. In the 3rd century B. C. came an invasion of Celts who settled south of the Balkans and built their principal town Tile, in the valley of roses. (this settlement survives under the name of Tulovo) They gradually fell under Hellenic influ-

144 175 ence, their last king, Kavar, minted coins with Greek inscriptions. Some 100,000 Bastarni, a Germanic tribe were settled in Thrace about 280 A. D. by the Emperor Probus. For centuries Roman influence was predominant in the Balkans having penetrated into western Bulgaria as early as 229 B. C. The country was permanently occupied by 5 legions and as many auxiliary troops and many Roman towns founded. Bulgaria to the north of the Balkans was completely Romanised and a further influx of Romans took place on the evacuation of Dacia by the Emperor Aurelian. The historian Priscus affirms that Latin was widely spoken in Danubian Bulgaria in the 5th century. Later came the Goths and Slavs, who overran the whole peninsula, closely followed by the Bulgarians who gave their name to the country. There were two streams of Bulgarians one under Asparuch from Bessarabia and which settled in 679 in North Eastern Bulgaria, and another under Kubert from Pannonia, which settled in Macedonia near Monastir about 670 to 675.

Prof. Ishirkov's analysis is far from complete. Invasions of Moesia by Bulgarians are recorded by Theophanes (Bonnae p. 338/9) in the year 531. While in Marcellini Comitis Chronicon, Migne LI. and Theophylact Simocat VII. 4. references are made to Bulgarian settlements in the valley of the Yantra river in Northern Bulgaria about 535 and 585 respectively. This is explained by the fact that the Emperor Zeno according to John of Antioch, called in the Bulgarians to his help when at war with the Ostrogoths and that subsequently Vitallian also appealed to them for help against Anastassius. It is recorded that in 517, Kutrigurs or Bulgars, had appeared as far south as the Thermopylae, and Justinian is said to have received 2,000 of them, and to have settled them in Thrace. Towards the end of the first Bulgarian Empire however, still greater and more fundamental changes occurred in the ethnogra-

phic composition of the population so that one may safely declare that the Bulgarians have nothing Slavonic except their language, and that they are in an overwhelming proportion descendants of various Hunnish tribes. On his advent in Bulgaria, Asparuch found it occupied partly by Slavs, of whom there were to all appearances seven small tribes (Theophanes, De Boor 359.12) which were finally subjugated by the Bulgarians. But the ranks of these Slavs must have been very much thinned since the Emperor Justinian II transferred some 30,000 to Asia Minor, while the Byzantine historians Nichephorus and Theophanes reported that in 761 another body of 208,000 Slavs also migrated from Bulgaria to Asia Minor. While the Slavs were being removed, numerous Syrian and Armenian colonists were being settled by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine V in Thrace and the plain of the Maritsa. Later in the 9th century, some 200,000 Armenians were settled around Philippopolis (Jovan Cvijić: "La Peninsule Balkanique" p 476).

The Slavs did not find in the Bulgarians congeniai companions and they preferred to trek elsewhere because on the whole the Bulgarians were extremely warlike, while the Slavs were a pacific folk. In a letter of the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus to the Tsar Symeon, in which the former was advocating the necessity of concluding a treaty of peace between their respective countries, he stresses the fact that some 20,000 Bulgarians had fled their country in a year and sought refuge in the Byzantine Empire as they were disgusted with Symeon's warlike spirit. The weakening of the Slav element was further intensified by the policy of colonisation of the Slavonic districts in Macedonia by peoples from all parts of the Byzantine Empire which was inauguratsd in 809 by the Emperor Nicephorus. (Theophanes p. 486 10—23).

After the death of Symeon, Bulgaria completely

144 175 exhausted by the wars she had waged, rapidly collapsed. Five Magyar incursions completely ravaged the country. On their heels came Sviatoslav's Russians in 967 who captured the great Bulgarian stronghold of Silistra and decimated the Bulgarians. It was only with the help of John Zimisces that they were finally driven off two years later and Bulgaria south of the Danube became a Byzantine province, and only the western part under the Tsar Samuel where the Bulgarian element survived in force, was able to ward off the Byzantines until 1018. But submission to the Byzantines did not secure for Eastern Bulgaria exemption from further invasions. In 1048 some 800,000 Petsenegs crossed the frozen Danube and the Byzantines settled them in the region around Sofia and Nisch and Ovtse Pole in Macedonia. In 1064, some 600,000 Kumans invaded Bulgaria and advanced into Thrace and Macedonia. These were veritable migrations affirms M. Yanko Sakuzov in his history of the Bulgarians (p. 121). He derives his figures from the eminent Russian historian Wassilievsky whose two book „The 2nd Bulgarian Empire", and „Byzantia and the Petsenegi" are the best documented on this particular period. In 1079 a yet further invasion of Petsenegs and Kumans took place, they penetrated into Thrace and even threatened Constantinople The Emperor Alexis Comnenus was so alarmed that he appealed to the west for help. These Petsenegs and Kumans must have completely swamped the Bulgarians and what few Slav remnants had survived until then in Bulgaria. The Crusaders when traversing Bulgaria in 1096 had to battle mainly with Petsenegs. Albertus, Bishop of Aix, who compiled a history of the expedition to Jerusalem from the year 1095 to 1121 makes vivid allusion to the „Petsenegs who live in Bulgaria".

This explains why the Byzantine chronicler Nikita Akominat who is the main source of documentation con-

144 cerning the period relating to the restoration of the 2nd
175 Bulgarian Empire, refers to Bulgarians as living mainly in Macedonia, while the inhabitants of present day Bulgaria he refers to as Vlachs or Wallachs. Other Byzantine writers however, such as G. Acropolites and G. Codinus mention that the population was composed of both Bulgarians and Vlachs, and this is to some extent confirmed by such chronicles as have been left by the Crusaders. Such as Ansberte's „Ystoria de expeditione Friderici imperatoris", though Ansberte in a passage referring to the military help which Tsar Peter offered to Frederick Barbarossa against Constantinople mentions only 40,000 Vlachs and Kumans and no Bulgarians Villehardouin again calls tne ruler of Bulgaria: „Johanis le Blac; li reis de Blaquie et de Bogrie", Professor Zlatarski, in a study published by the Bulgarian Academy in 1933 rightly expresses the view that the Assenide dynasty was of Kumanian stock. It was certainly owing to their close relationship with the Kumans that they were able to appeal for assistance to their kinsmen across the Danube, And it was only with their support that they successfully revolted against the Byzantines. Naturally the question arises whence this sudden apperance of Vlachs in Bulgaria? Must we accept as likely Weigand's theory that the Rumanian nationality was formed in Bulgaria between 600 and 900 and then gradually moved north across the Danube and that therefore these Vlach subjects of the Assenide dynasty were but a rearguard which had not yet trekked northward? It would be rather more logical to explain the use of the term Vlach as a synonym for Kuman, owing to the long cohabitation of these two peoples in Wallachia and to their being mistaken for one another.

The advent of the Petshenegs and Kumans in Bulgaria relegated henceforth the original Bulgarian invaders

144
175

to a back place, for the Kumanian Assenides were followed yet by other Kumanian Tsars on the throne of Bulgaria, those of the Terter dynasty and finally the Shishmans. The Dobrudja too, became an independent Kuman fief under the Kuman boliar Balik, from whom the Black Sea port Baltchik derives its name, as does the whole province from that of his son Dobrotitch. Other invasions of Kumans are recorded, in 1233, and still later after the Tartars had begun pressing them in their homeland in Wallachia. In their wake the Tartars too made their appearance in Bulgaria and repeatedly invaded the country, a son of the famous Han Nogai, Tsaka, was crowned in 1299 at Tirnovo as Bulgarian ruler though his reign was ephemeral. Soon after came the Turks who dominated the country for five centuries. It is strange that students of Bulgarian history have not taken seriously the irruption of the Petschenegs and Kumans in Bulgaria in the 11th century and still nourish the illusion that the Bulgarians are Slavs. These mass migrations must have completely metamorphosed the ethnic basis of the population. There are no estimates of the Bulgarian population of that period, but the first Turkish census reported by Ubicini places the total population of the Danube vilayet in 1876 at 2,591,116 of whom 1,535,466 were recorded as Christians; this after five centuries of relative peace and prosperity, so that it may be easily assumed that the population of Bulgaria prior to the irruption of over a million and a half of Petschenegs and Kumans in the 11th century must have been extremely sparse and practically overwhelmed by such an influx. The greatest marvel is the survival of the Slav tongue in their midst but this must be ascribed mainly to its use in the Church, the clergy being the only cultural force in existence at the time. We can easily gauge its influence by what happened in Rumania where the Slavonic liturgy had been adopted and used until the 18th

197

175

[For history of Bulgaria from the First Bulgarian Empire to the end of the 19th century, see catagory 116, pp. 271-351]

1: Karutz--59 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Bulgaria-E1

/88/ The Bulgarians

000 1. Hair dress of young women, with tresses decorated with silver. 2. and 3. Decorative pendants. 4. Head ornament of the brides, made of flowers and silver coins. 5. Woman wearing an embroidered blouse and a woven carpet apron. 6. Drawing well. 7. Neck ornament. 8. Hand mill for salt. 9. Threshing sled. 10. Cave dwelling on the Loe. 11. Fire saw. 12. Village street. 13. Shelter of the field herders. 14. Household altar. 15. Rattle board of wood, from a monastery. 16. Signalling horn of a country mailman. 17. Sawing frame. 1/

175 101 144 At the time of the Romans present-day Bulgaria was called Moesia in its northern (Danube) region, Thracia in its southern section, and it was inhabited by an Indo-European people of North European extraction, at the time when old Greek, and later Roman and Byzantine, immigrants moved there and intermingled with it. From the [illegible] century on, the Slavic wave moved closer, and from the seventh century onwards Finnish Turko-Tataric migrant herders and horse breeders repeatedly found their way into this country from the middle Volga. 463 From these the Bulgarians adopted and kept the herding system, by the side of which the Thracian and Slavic agriculture was maintained. The Ottoman Turks coming from the southeast provided the country 181 with its class of craftsmen and tradesmen. This mosaic of races and peoples developed a particularly powerful and healthy stock of people whose high life expectancy is well known, as well as a temperate, 531 industrious, and sober character. It mirrors a corresponding multiplicity 177 of cultures; thus we have in art types that range from the Scythian style and its predilection for phantastic animal forms to the Byzantine and ancient Oriental motifs; from the cellular stone inlays of the period of the Teutonic migrations (belt clasps) to the Tatar decorative pendants (Figures 2, 3, and 7), 1/ and from the Slavic joy in ornamentation and 592 colors to the Turkish, recent Near Eastern household industries. The Slavic household community, which takes up every new generation into the fabric of the family, has as its consequence the form of settlement 342 by individual and separate farmsteads. Aside from occasional underground dwelling pits in the loess, of which only the pointed roof of rushes rises above the ground, there are one-story high, rectangular panel-work houses covered with loam, placed either on a level with the soil, or else on top of a wooden substructure for the working sheds.

1/ [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 59a -- Analyst]
2/ [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 57a -- Analyst]

1: Niederle--114 E-5 1911 E/C Slavic Peoples E/C
Bulgaria EE1

S.P. B. 101 174

and the Slovenes and they did not form a united group. Still in the seventh and eighth centuries we find in the eastern part of the Balkan peninsula an entire series of tribes very slightly united to each other, the Sieveriens and seven anonymous tribes in the north of the present Bulgaria, the Rumeliot Slavs, then the Druguvicnes, /183/ the Smoliani, the Strumenci, the Rynchini*, the Sagudati*, the Berziti in Macedonia. It is evidently to these latter that the Slavs who pushed into Greece and into the Archipelago are related from the linguistic viewpoint, the Velegezites, the Vajuniti, the Milingi, and the Iezerci. Towards this period a union began to develop, but under foreign pressure. In 679 under the leadership of Asparukh a certain number of Bulgars from the Volga--of Turkish origin--crossed the Danube and penetrated into the Dobrudja as far as Varna; they subjugated the neighboring Slavic tribes, unified them, and little by little unified all of the Slavs of the center of the Peninsula.

S.P. [197]

On the other hand, the Bulgars of the Volga, who were relatively few in number, became themselves assimilated very quickly with the Slav element and merged with it. (1)

1. Zanetov and Skorpil thought that they found the remains of these ancient Bulgars among the Gagauz (see further on) and among the Turks of Deliorman between Silistra, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), Varna and Rushchouk, whom their Bulgar neighbors called Gadjaly. Mochkov came out against their hypotheses.

Their name alone, which was given to the new state and to its people, recalls the memory of this element of foreign race. Besides the Bulgars have basically always been Slavs, even though they have not hesitated to assimilate foreign elements. Among these elements, along with the Turkish Bulgars, one must cite the remains of the ancient Thracians, the Germans, /185/ especially the Goths, Turks, and Avars, to whom were added later on other Asiatic elements; the Poles, the Cumaeans, the Oguzes, gypsies, and finally the Osmanli Turks.

S.P. B. 175

The Bulgarian Empire, beginning with the reign of Simeon (893-927) acquired a considerable area; it grew by means of the constant warfare with Byzantines on the one hand and with the Serbs, on the other. The Slavs who belonged to its most remote frontiers at

S.P. B. 175

the period when the seat of the Tsar and of the Patriarch was at Ochrida (1), felt themselves to be even more Bulgarian the further they were removed from the ancient homeland of the nation; they retained this more or less strong sense of solidarity, on the one side against the Serbs whose empire confined them to their region, on the other side against the Osmanli Turks. In 1393 the Turks captured Trnovo; in 1396 after the victory of Nicopolis they achieved the conquest of Bulgaria. The country remained enslaved until the years 1876-1878 when the intervention of Russia gave her back her freedom and independence. The area between the Danube and the Stara Planina (Balkan Mountains) was the first to be freed; in 1885 a peaceful revolution annexed the Bulgarian Rumelia to her, as far as Mount Dospat, to the course of the Arda, the Sakar Planina (Sakar Balkan Mountains) and the Gulf of Burgas. The section of the Bulgars who form a compact group in Macedonia /186/ have vainly been waiting up to the present for their deliverance and for the end of a situation which, despite the efforts of the Powers, still remains a very painful one.

1. Today in Macedonia. Translator.

S.P. [144]

Such is the political history of the Bulgar people. The development of the nation has furthermore been hindered by perpetual troubles, by disturbances, by the displacements of ethnic groups. When the Greeks again took possession of their ancient domain the Slav colonies of the south had to return north, the Slavs of Greece were completely assimilated during the course of the Middle Ages. But the most serious catastrophe was the Turkish invasion.

S.P. B. 175 167

When the Turks penetrated into the peninsula, under the reign of Murad I, they settled in the region of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) and of Zagora; in the reign of Bajazet I they settled between Plovdiv and the Balkans and then remained in the basin of the Marica, especially in its lower areas, until the nineteenth century. This would follow from the information furnished in 1819 by Pope Constantine and from the nomenclature of the area which is essentially Turkish (names of villages, fields, streams, woods, pastures, hills, etc.). Of 52 villages of the district of Shirpan only two have non-Turkic names, and only three in the district of Seimen (now Marica). Another center of Turkish colonization was the eastern portion of northern Bulgaria, especially the Dobrudja, which became a desert in the fifteenth /187/ century.

S.P. B. 175 167

In this region, before the arrival of the Turks, there were settled a large number of Pecheneg, Uzi, and Cumaeans (whose descendants are today called Gagauz) and later on the Tatars.

It seems that the earliest Turkish colonization took place in the region of Deliorman towards the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and later on at Tuzluk and at Gerilovo. The Ragusan Pavle Gjordjic, who traveled in these areas, reported a numerous Turkish population at Gerilovo*, at Deliorman, and in the Dobrudja. These areas were not completely assimilated by the Turks until the seventeenth century, and in the case of Gerilovo*, not until the eighteenth century. But many Turkish villages still retain their Slavic names.

All this Turkish colonization in the northeast of Bulgaria evidently had as an object the securing of passageways of the Balkans, especially after the defeats suffered in the war against King Wladyslaw of Poland in 1443.

S.P. B. 101 167

Of the original Slav population there remain only a few rare traces near Provadiya, Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), and Razgrad. Also in the sixteenth century a great number of Turks, Yurvks*, and Konlars* came from Asia to settle in certain parts of Thrace and of Macedonia. The old Slavic Bulgars, after the arrival of the Turks, naturally withdrew into the mountainous regions. In the sixteenth century their boundary was formed by the towns of Devna*, Monastir (now Bitolj), Krivnia*, Ravna*, Nenovo*, /188/ Nevcha*, Kaludjerica, Divdiedovo*, Novo Selo, or, in other words, the line from Varna (now Stalin) to Shumla (now Kolarovgrad). But towards the south the Slav element soon began again to take over and regain the terrian. The Osmanlis perished little by little in the perpetual wars and were not replaced by new colonists. On the other hand, new Bulgars arrived from the northern areas (Lovech, Nikopol), a scene of constant troubles and danger.

S.P. B. 175 167

It was on the banks of the Danube that the principal wars were fought and the Slavs moved away from there in all directions. Upon this emigration movement which is a very old one, we have no documentation until after the seventeenth century. Thus we know that in the course of the year 1741 Bulgar colonies went to settle in the Banat of Temesvar where their descendants are still established at Vinga, and Benesov*. From 1752 to 1754 a great number of Bulgars

*[i.e. in northeast Bulgaria--Analyst]

1: Niederle--117 E-5 1911 E/cSlavic Peoples E/c Bulgaria EE 1

S.P. B. 175 167

and of Gagauz moved into southern Russia, others in 1787-91; during the wars from 1801 to 1812 a very large number came particularly from Vidin to settle in Bessarabia. This emigration was repeated after the war of 1828-1829. In 1821 there were counted in Bessarabia 1,735 Bulgar families with a total of 38,000 persons; in 1829, 4,400 families arrived or about 270,000 souls. Then came the reaction. During the fifty years of peace which followed, many families returned to their own country despite the miseries which they had to undergo. /189/ In 1833, 900 families came back from Bessarabia. On the other hand, from the Balkan regions many of the Bulgars came down to the plain, especially to Rustchuk, the Dobrudja, the country located between Adrianopol (Edirne--Bulg, Odrin) and Burgas, between Shirpan and Stara Zagora, to the outskirts of Kavkalii (now Topolovgrad), of Kyzil Agach*, of Tambol and, under the peaceful reign of Mahmud II, as far as the ouskirts of Rodosto (now Tekirdag), of Derkos* and of Constantinople.

The war of 1877-78 resulted in new movements whose consequences can still be felt today. At the outset of this campaign the Bulgars fled en masse from Stara Zagora, from Kazanlik, from Gjopsa, from Zlatitsa into the country to the north and did not return to their homes until the Russians advanced to the south. In other areas the Turks and the Cherkess evacuated villages which they had occupied for a very long period; the former emigrated through fear of the Russians; the latter did so later on because they were unable to adjust themselves to the new order of things. Mr. Jirecek, historian of the Bulgars, estimates at 100,000 the number of Turks who emigrated from 1878 to 1884. They were replaced by Bulgars who came from Rumelia or from Macedonia, which the Treaty of Berlin retained under Turkish domination.

S.P. B. 167

On the other hand, emigrants came back from Romania, Bessarabia the Taurida, and Asia Minor and settled in the neighborhood of Svishtov, Varna (now Stalin), and Tuzluk*. With the Macedonians /189/ continuing to move in without interruption, Mr. Jirecek offers figures which give an idea of the changes effected in the population. In 1896, among 338 Christian localities in the dioceses of Varna (now Stalin) and Shumla (now Kolarovgrad), 135 since the war had an entirely new population. There remained only rare traces of the previous generation. On the other hand, according to Miletic, the

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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342 selves in the valleys of the Danube, found both troglodyte and sur-
SL face dwellings in use among the previous inhabitants of these areas,
[342] i.e. the Thracians, from whom Roumanians of Vlachia and Moldavia, and Albanians of the Skodra lake area took over these huts, called bordeiu (1).

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[361] More specially the Bulgars, who in their ancient home were living a nomad life, had no permanent houses. They lived just as the rest of Turanian peoples, in tents they put up in places where they could find pastures for their herds; when the pastures were exhausted, camps were dissolved and the tents carried with the nomads.

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175 When, under the leadership of Asparuch, Bulgars established a
648 strong base in the Delta of the Danube and when, using this strong-
361 hold as a base, they occupied all the area between this river and the Balkan mountains, only then began the Bulgars to know the advantages of permanent installation. For a long time, however, they
G were wild fighters and lived on the peoples they subjugated, the old
175 Thracians, who had been hellenised, or latinised, and the other Greeks
648 and Slavs who had established themselves in those areas during the previous century (2). These Slavs, according to Procopius (3) and to
SL the Biography of Saint Demetrius (4), knew only how to build (5)
[342] «miserable huts» or «tents» besides the underground shelters mentioned above. The thousands of Greek prisoners who were kid-
B napped during the Bulgarian invasions were «drafted» into the in-
[727]

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1) According to **Fr. Nopcsa,** Albanien, 1925, p. 11 these underground dwellings of Roumania and Bulgaria represent the immediate descendants of the pre-historic and Roman housings of the Haimos peninsula. The writings on the tiles found in pre-historic dwellings have a Thracian character. Remains of Thracian tribes have been found despite the Illyric over-layer, both, in the Skodra lake and in Dardania. Dobroutcha has always been a Thracian area.

2) **D. Zakythinos,** Οἱ Σλάβοι ἐν Ἑλλάδι, Athens, 1945, p. 27 «The permanent installation of Slav tribes in the Balkan peninsula begins only during the first years of the 7th Century».

3) **Procop.** De bello Gotth. 3, 14: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ (Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄνται) ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμείβοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως ἕκαστοι χῶρον.

4) **A. Tougard,** De l'histoire profane dans les actes grecs des bollandistes. Paris 1874, p. 184, 190.

5) According to **Niederle,** op. cit. 2, p. 98, «it is easily understood that the Slavs used to build, besides the underground shelters (abris) which were covered by an additional wooden roof, light huts without any trenches on the model of the «koliba», built by the shepherds of the Karpathians and the Balkans, made of inter-woven branches of trees».

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vader's country(1) and they were obliged not only to cultivate the land on behalf of their owners, but also to carry out all other work and naturally to build permanent houses which were necessary, since Bulgars were to establish themselves for good in these newly conquered districts.

For a long time Bulgars had either the disposition nor the sense to learning arts and crafts. Even where they had abandoned their incursions and lootings and were giving themselves to peaceful occupations, as agriculture and stock-breeding, they did not take to the arts. The palaces and the churches of Bulgaria have been built by foreigners, especially by Greeks, such as the beautiful palace of Aboba near Schumen, which is a monument of Byzantine style of the 9th or 10th century(2). But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, accord-

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1) The Bulgarian inroads on Greek territories for looting and capture of prisoners began in the period of Asparouch (679-701) and continued till the reign of Michael (1246-1257). King Krum, when he captured Adrianoupolis in 813, took away all her inhabitants, as well as those of the surrounding areas, all amounting to 40.000, into Bulgarian territory to the North of the Danube. Another 50.000 prisoners together with other loot, were taken during the winter of the same year from Thrace (**W. Slataraki,** Geschichte der Bulgaren, I, Leipzig, 1918 p. 15,29). According to the Bulgarian historian **Ivan Sakazov** (Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929. p. 57 foll.) «Bulgaria was filled up with prisoners and cattle, which formed the Bulgarian national wealth and made their well-being possible. It was on this basis that the material civilization was formed, which Omortag, Krum's heir, bequeathed to his descendents.» Later (1206), during a battle near the Tountza river, when the Bulgarian Ioannitzis or Skyloyiannis was totally defeated by the Greeks, 20.000 prisoners together with 3.000 carts were liberated, while they were led towards Bulgaria together with a great amount of loot. See **Diog. Xanalatos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βούλγαροι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην. Α' Athens 1914 pp. 17, 22 etc. 33, 39, 40 etc. Cp. **K. Paparrigopoulos,** Ἱστορ. Ἑλλ. Ἔθνους 6th edition, tome 4, b, 186 and foll. t. 5, a 23. **K. Amandos,** Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους Α' 1939 p. 411. Β' 1947, pp 5, 173, 426. Οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1923 p. 26 and 40 **Ant. Keramopoullos** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βόρειοι γείτονες, Athens 1945, p. 167 and foll. **G. A. Megas,** Ἀδριανούπολις ἡ πολυκρουσεμένη in the periodical Ἑλληνικὴ Δημιουργία t. I 1948 pp. 93 and foll.

2) **L. Niederle,** op. cit. 112. **C. Jirecek** says that: «Even in the best years of the Middle Ages, during the reign of Tsar Symeon, according to the evidence given by Joannis Exarchos, there were to be seen but straw-covered huts in Bulgaria, except for the palace of the king». Straw-covered huts in Bulgaria are also mentioned by Kantakouzinos, 1, 144, edit. Bonn.

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According to the Bulgarian historian **I. Sakazov,** op cit. p. 41, «The very beginnings of an economic organisation in Bulgaria appeared in the court of the Tsars and with the aristocracy, who were trying to imitate the Byzan-

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But even later, after the 15th century, when Bulgaria, according to Zlatev (p. 154) has enjoyed peace and quietness under the strong Turkish authority and when together with economic flourish the building art progressed, especially in the mountainous areas, even then the construction of houses, in Bulgaria and in the rest of Balcan countries was done by foreign, mainly Greek, builders from Western Macedonia and Epirus, the famous «Mastorochoria» (builder's villages)(1).

We can thus explain the great similarity between the Bulgarian rural, and later urban, house to the Greek house as regards arrangement of spaces external architecture and the methods of building. Consequently, the evolution presented by the Bulgarian house from its simplest original forms to the more composite ones, not only on the former Greek lands (Rodope, Eastern Roumelia, Plate XVI) but also in the districts over the Haimos mountains (Plate XIII-XV) it is the same as that of the Greek house.

Zlatev knows the builders of Western Macedonia when he says that it is they who introduced the beautiful arched capitals to Western Bulgaria, that sometimes hang freely at the prostoon of the houses. But Zlatev sees in these a mark of the «Italian Rennaissance» which «the Macedonians transferred from the eastern shores of the Adriatic(!) to Western Bulgaria» (p. 155). This Italian Rennaissance, according to the Bulgarian architect, «was also transplanted in the house building of Eastern Bulgaria, yet through another route, namely through Constantinople and Adrianople, and the Aegean coasts, where it took a Byzantine influence»! That is to say, Zlatev does recognize

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tine court in everything. There were many foreign prisoners in the Bulgarian capital who were specialists in various arts, as well as free Byzantine master-technicians, even during the periods when the relations of Bulgaria with Byzantion were peaceful. We can safely say that the first teachers of the Bulgarians on art, crafts and handicrafts were foreigners. Everything which the court or the aristocrats needed, was made by these artisans». The fact that Greek craftsmen were teachers of the Bulgarians in building churches and houses, and that Byzantion sent craftsmen, builders, painters etc. into Bulgaria, may be seen in **I. Sakazov,** op. cit. pp. 46, 59, 78.

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1) On a total of twenty ancient tombs excavated in W. Macedonia by A. Keramopoullos, four contained, among other offerings, the tools of the dead (Minutes of Arch. Society, 1934, p. 77, 79, 80). It can be thus said that the craft of house-builder has been handed from father to son in that area for at least 2 000 years. (See **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι, Athens 1939, p. 56). About Epirote craftsmen see **Ang. Hadjimichali,** Ἠπειρωτικὴ λαϊκὴ τέχνη, Ἠπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ Ε' 1930 p. foll and «La maison grecque» in L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Ser. II, 3 (1949) pp. 250 foll.